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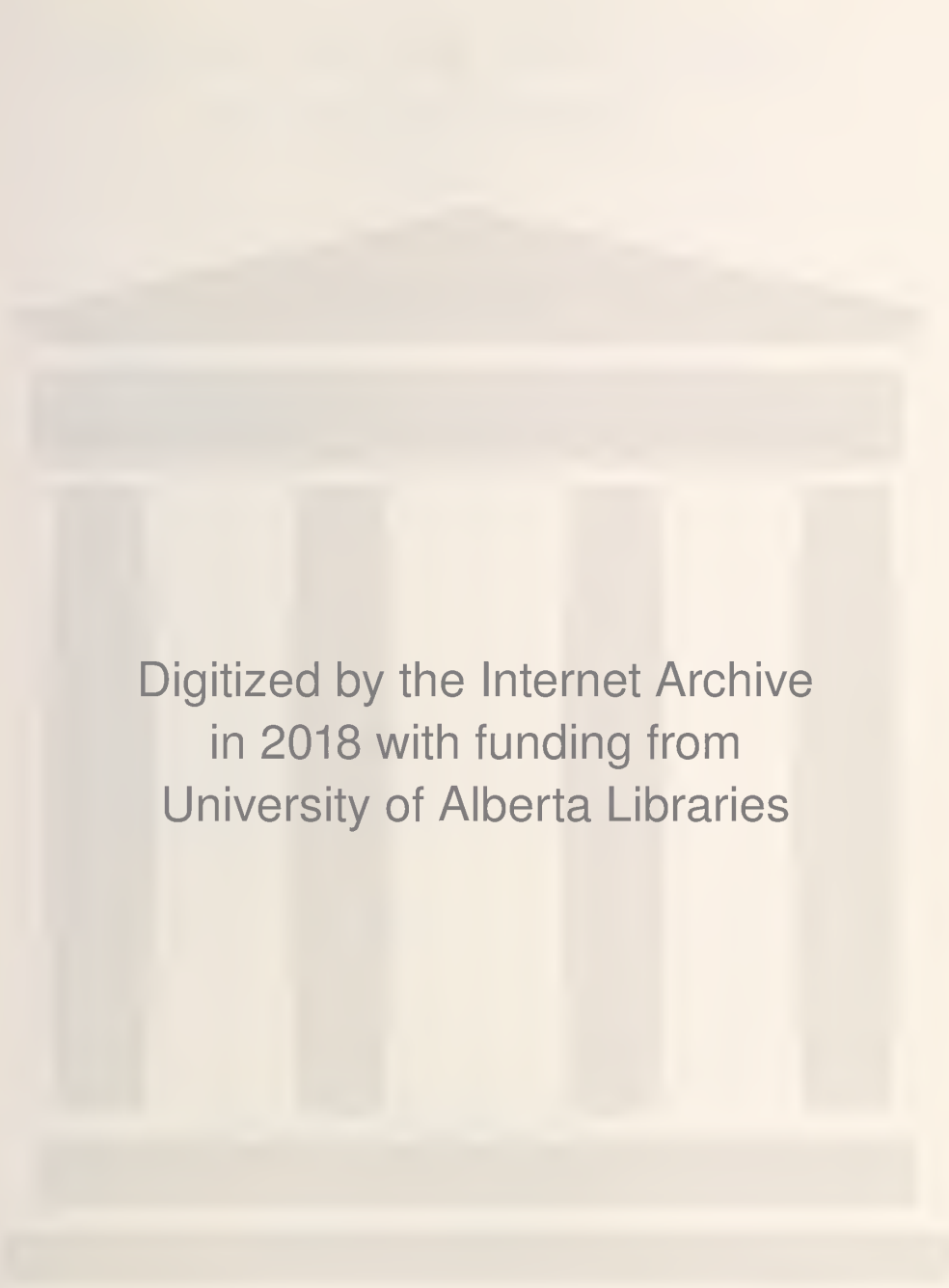
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THE UNIVERSITY OF ALBERTA  
A STUDY OF THE INCIDENCE OF JUVENILE DELINQUENCY  
AND ITS TREATMENT IN EDMONTON  
IN 1944

A DISSERTATION  
SUBMITTED TO THE SCHOOL OF GRADUATE STUDIES  
IN PARTIAL FULFILMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE  
OF MASTER OF ARTS

FACULTY OF ARTS AND SCIENCE  
DEPARTMENT OF PHILOSOPHY AND PSYCHOLOGY

BY

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NOVEMBER 2, 1955



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The undersigned hereby certify that they have read and recommend to the School of Graduate Studies for acceptance, a thesis entitled A STUDY OF THE INCIDENCE OF JUVENILE DELINQUENCY AND ITS TREATMENT IN EDMONTON IN 1944, submitted by Olga Louise Barilko, B.A., in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Arts.

Date...January, 1956



### ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

I would like to express my sincere thanks to all who have made this study possible. For permission to use the City Welfare files, I am indebted to Dr. W. W. Cross, Minister of Public Health, and Mr. E. S. Bishop, Superintendent of the Edmonton City Welfare Department. The assistance of Mr. H. Wilson, Deputy Attorney-General, Assistant Commissioner A. T. Belcher, Officer Commanding "K" Division, R.C.M.P., Magistrate McKeen, Magistrate Main, Chief of Police Jennings, Miss H. Bishop, and staff of the City Welfare Department, in the follow-up study is greatly appreciated.

To the friends who helped with the tabulations, organization of data, and typing of the manuscript, go my sincerest thanks.

I am particularly grateful to Dr. D. E. Smith of the Department of Psychology. Without his valuable assistance and guidance, the study would have been incomplete.

O. L. B.





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## CHAPTER I.

### INTRODUCTION TO STUDY.

There is little doubt that Juvenile Delinquency, which is the "result of failure to satisfy the basic needs of youth for security, achievement, and the opportunity for a full, normal life,"<sup>1</sup> poses a great problem. The results of numerous studies by such authorities as Burt, Goring, the Gluecks, Healy and Bronner and Reckless, indicate that many criminals began their delinquent careers as juveniles. Society pays in two ways for its early neglect in many of these cases: (1) by being subjected to repeated depredations by many of the same criminals (2) by paying out large sums of money annually for the cost of conviction and subsequent maintenance of those offenders who are apprehended and placed in penal institutions. In 1925-26 the average cost of conviction for the commission of a major crime was estimated to be \$1200, and approximately \$120 for a minor crime. This figure included the cost of detection, arrest, and trial. The average cost of maintenance in an institution was approximately \$2.00 a day.<sup>2</sup>

Since the establishment of the first Juvenile Court in Chicago in 1899, many studies have been carried out and much has been written about causes, treatment and prevention of juvenile delinquency. While

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1. Your Town Against Delinquency, Canadian Welfare Council, Ottawa, 1948, p. 8.
  2. The Report of the Royal Commission to Investigate the Penal System of Canada, 1938, pp. 215-216.





popular theories regarding causation have ranged from the use of tobacco, at the turn of the century, to the influence of crime comics, scientific research has shifted the emphasis from any single cause to the theory of multiple causation which takes into account the role of the individual in society. Increased knowledge of causes of delinquency led to theories and experiments in the related fields of prevention and treatment. Through research and comparison, older methods are being supplanted.

#### DEFINITION OF "JUVENILE OFFENDER".

A "Juvenile Delinquent" is defined by the Dominion Juvenile Delinquents Act of 1908, revised in 1929, as "any child apparently or actually under the age of 16 ---- who violates any provision of the Criminal Code or of any Dominion or Provincial Statute or of any by-law or ordinance of any municipality or who is guilty of sexual immorality of any similar form of vice or who is liable by reason of another act to be committed to an Industrial School or Juvenile Reformatory, under the provisions of any Dominion or Provincial Statute".

By proclamation of the Governor-in-Council, any province may direct that the term "child" shall mean any boy or girl, apparently or actually, under the age of eighteen. The provinces of Manitoba, Alberta, and British Columbia adopted the higher age limit but Alberta, in 1951, returned to using the lower age limit.

The term "Juvenile Offender" as used in this study was taken to be any minor, under 18 years of age, who faced a charge in Juvenile Court.



### THE AIM OF THIS STUDY.

The aim of this survey was not only to gather data regarding the incidence of juvenile delinquency and its treatment in Edmonton in 1944, but also was to evaluate these methods by comparing them statistically with the methods used elsewhere.

### SOURCE OF MATERIAL AND SCOPE OF STUDY.

The 204 cases used in the study were selected from the files of the City Welfare Department and include all of the juvenile offenders charged in 1944. Except for three cases, all of the offences were committed in 1944. This particular year was chosen because, (1) inspection of the City Welfare files indicated that 1944 was a peak year for delinquency;<sup>1</sup> (2) it was felt that the seven years' interval was sufficient to gauge the social adjustment of the youths who were delinquent in 1944. The criterion for evaluation of treatment was the repetition of offences as ascertained by a follow-up study of the offenders. A follow-up study of recidivists was carried out by consulting the files of the Alberta Provincial Attorney-General's Department, which provided particulars of any contact with the Royal Canadian Mounted Police, as well as charges tried before the Superior Court, the Edmonton city newspapers, and the files of the Edmonton City Police Court. A cursory check was carried out by comparing information from the former two sources with the files of the Royal Canadian Mounted

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1. According to the Juvenile Court Statistics, 1945 was a peak year in the United States.



Police. The files of the Social Service Exchange netted information regarding contacts with Welfare Agencies other than the Juvenile Court. Much of the latter material, however, could not be used because of the inadequate information found in the original records.<sup>1</sup> The follow-up study ended April 15, 1951.

It must be emphasized that the study reviews the situation of the Juvenile Court in Edmonton as it was in 1944. Changes instituted since 1944 will be indicated later in the study.

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1. A sample of the data sheet used, and the amount of information available is shown in the Appendix.





## CHAPTER II.

### GENERAL SURVEY OF CAUSES, PREVENTION AND TREATMENT.

#### CAUSES

Reformers, pulpiteers, moralists, and civic leaders have all advanced their favorite reasons for delinquent behavior. News articles reporting speeches of people, some of whom are distinguished in their own fields, give such causes of delinquency as the following: (1) youth has forgotten God, or has strayed away from the church, or no longer goes to Sunday School; (2) the family is breaking down and children no longer respect parental authority; (3) the radio, movies, television, dance halls, taprooms, and poolrooms exercise harmful effects; (4) a lack of moral discipline, brought about in large measures by new ideas in education, has developed.<sup>1</sup>

Not to be outdone, the proverbial "man on the street" lists as his major causes "lack of home training, parental neglect, etcetera, lack of recreational facilities, crime and gangster pictures and the fact that children don't have enough to do."<sup>2</sup> 258 ex-offenders, when polled, considered bad housing, lack of recreation and lack of jobs more responsible for crime than movies, the radio or the press.<sup>3</sup>

In spite of these common tendencies to oversimplify, authoritative thought tends to favor the theory of multiplicity causation. Dr. Cyril Burt, one of the first exponents of the theory, asserts that "crime is assign-

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1. Teeters, N. K., and Reinemann, J. O., The Challenge of Delinquency, Prentice-Hall, New York, 1950, pp. 7-8.

2. Loc. cit.

3. Loc. cit.



able to no single universal source, nor yet to two or three; it springs from a wide variety, and usually from a multiplicity of alternative and converging influences." Because of the nature of these factors and their varying combinations, he found as many as 70 different conditions, each forming the principal reason for the child's offence.<sup>1</sup>

Referring to causes of juvenile delinquency in Alberta during the years 1920-30, King states;

"Since there are no over-crowded homes or cities, and there are fairly good play-grounds, these causes of delinquency should not be as applicable in Alberta as in England and the United States."

He lists unfavorable home conditions and family relationships as his primary causative factors and states that 45.8% of the children considered in his study came from broken homes, while poor marital relationship prevailed in some of the other homes.<sup>2</sup>

Although the importance of any condition or conditions which may give rise to delinquency may vary somewhat from authority to authority, all seem to agree that the causes fall under two broad headings: (1) an abnormal social environment, (2) unusual or abnormal personality or character traits in the individual child, and that in nearly all cases of juvenile delinquency, there is usually a combination of these two factors involved in the causation of the problem. If because of hereditary influences, physical ill-health or unhealthy earlier training, a child develops unwholesome emotional characteristics, even though he

1. Burt, Cyril, The Young Delinquent, University of London Press, 1938, pp. 599-600.
2. King, Herman Lewis, A Study of the Principles Involved in Dealing with Juvenile Delinquents and their Application in the City of Edmonton, M.A. Thesis, University of Alberta, 1934.



lives in a comparatively normal environment, he may become a juvenile delinquent. By the same token, a comparatively normal child may develop antisocial tendencies if he lives in a socially harmful environment. A few of the familiar social conditions which play a major part in the causation of juvenile delinquency are unhappy home conditions, poverty, undesirable companions and defective discipline.

### TREATMENT

If, then, we are to accept the theory of multiple causation with all its combinations, it follows that we must have various methods of treatment to meet each causal variation rather than any one method to be applied indiscriminately. We must adopt "individualized" treatment which combines psychological, sociological, and legal aspects of treatment. We must understand the total person in the total situation. A socializing process, which seeks to correct and protect rather than punish, is required.

Although official treatment by the juvenile court will be discussed in a later chapter, some mention must be made of treatment generally.

The studies which indicate the early years at which juvenile delinquency first came to the attention of the juvenile authorities suggest that any treatment, to be effective, must be instituted at the earliest possible stage. This, in turn, means that we must continue our efforts to obtain the fullest knowledge about causation and treatment. Such knowledge will result only from research and experience. Current





methods of treatment, official and unofficial, may consist of the following, either singly or combined:

- (1) social service counselling and adjustment, including also educational change, such as transfer to a different class, grade, or school;
- (2) medical care;
- (3) psycho-therapy in a clinic or hospital;
- (4) placement in a foster home, shelter, or any other child-caring institution;
- (5) commitment to a correctional or noncorrectional institution or to a state school for the mentally deficient. Selection depends upon the child's needs and capacities as well as upon the availability of various facilities.<sup>1</sup>

In discussing treatment of juvenile delinquents, Thomas favors limiting the function of juvenile court judges to ascertaining the guilt of an individual, and in some instances, to sentencing the delinquent for a period of time recommended by a committee of qualified personnel who make a thorough diagnosis of each delinquent and prescribe the treatment. He states that such methods are more concerned with the idea of treating and rehabilitating than seeing that the punishment is fitted to the offence.<sup>2</sup>

Our present treatment of juvenile delinquency, although it repre-

1. Goldberg, H., Child Offenders, Greene and Stratton, New York, 1948, p. 195.
2. Thomas, T.E., The Treatment of Male Juvenile Delinquents with Special Reference to Alberta, M.A. Thesis, University of Alberta, 1951.



sents great progress over the past, is still far from the ideal.

Written in 1932, the following extract is still pertinent:

"The aims of the last generation have profoundly influenced the treatment of juvenile delinquency, and the present-day emphasis on scientific study of the child as a basis for understanding and dealing with his problems has received widespread theoretical acceptance. Nevertheless, the treatment of the delinquent child still frequently violates the principles of humanitarianism and is characterized by the "common-sense" or "trial-and-error" policy, rather than by scientific consideration of the causes of his failure to conform to the requirements of society. There are still widespread, inadequate school procedures for dealing with truancy and behaviour problems; unnecessary arrests, detention in police stations and jails; juvenile courts, presided over by poorly paid judges not especially prepared or selected for children's work and without the services of adequate number of qualified probation officers; absence of psychiatric services; inadequate facilities for foster-home or institutional care, absence of an effective parole system; more important than all, lack of a well-rounded and coordinated community program for the development of constructive wholesome interests and the early study and guidance of children presenting problems of behaviour and personality. The knowledge we now have is actually applied in only a few communities and even there to comparatively small numbers of children. Moreover, even under the most favorable conditions, we need more understanding than we now possess of the causes of delinquency and the conditions under which it may be ameliorated." <sup>1</sup>

### PREVENTION

Of all the aspects of delinquent behavior none is more important or more difficult than the one of delinquency prevention. Law violation, like many other widespread disorders in society is an intrinsic part of our culture and as such, its removal would necessitate widespread socio-economic changes. Society cannot wait for the great transformation but must meet each problem as it arises, even before it arises, if possible.

The knowledge that certain factors and conditions are particularly

1. Brief for the Commission to Investigate the Penal System of Canada, 1936, prepared by the Board of Governors of the Montreal Council of Social Agencies, p. 8, taken from the report of the Delinquency Committee of the White House Conference on Child Health and Protection, Century Co., New York, 1932.



conducive to juvenile delinquency suggests methods of combatting these undesirable influences. The methods may be both official and unofficial.

Since any system is only as good as its workers, adequately trained mature workers are essential in dealing with all aspects of the juvenile delinquents. Equipped with complete knowledge of the Community, including salient economic, industrial, social and population data, they can attempt to institute ameliorative measures. Such obvious environmental defects as slum areas, industrial exploitation, ravages of disease, insufficient medical care and recreation facilities lend themselves admirably to any social reform movement. The contributions which can be made by the average citizen should not be overlooked in such prevention work. Through such organizations as service clubs, Parent-Teacher Associations, and Women's Clubs, much good work has been done in establishing recreation centres, clinics for the underprivileged, organizing community activities and instigating appeals for changes in legislation.

The founding of the Juvenile Court is an excellent example of the work accomplished by public spirited citizens.

Psychological conditions or factors, should have the benefit of early attention. Habit clinics, guidance clinics, family courts, juvenile courts, an alert and understanding police force, the school through sympathetic and understanding teachers, vocational guidance and a curriculum which fits students' needs more adequately; social workers and church leaders all have an important role to play in any delinquency prevention program. Particular needs, such as those of minority groups, the mentally deficient, the psychotic, the disabled, must also be met so that these individuals, too, will have a fairer chance.





## CHAPTER III.

### THE JUVENILE COURT: JURISDICTION AND METHODS OF TREATMENT.

#### ROLE OF THE JUVENILE COURT.

Since it is beyond the scope of this thesis to present the origin and history of the juvenile court movement,<sup>1</sup> we shall limit ourselves to presenting the following quotations which illustrate the fundamental theory governing the establishment of juvenile courts.

"The fundamental idea of the (juvenile court) law is that the state must step in and exercise guardianship over a child found under such adverse social or individual conditions as develop crime... It proposes a plan whereby he may be treated, not as a criminal, or legally charged with crime, but as a ward of the state, to receive practically the care, custody, and discipline that are accorded the neglected and dependent child, and which, as the act states, 'shall approximate as nearly as may be that which should be given by its parents'." <sup>2</sup>

The same principle is stated in the Canadian Juvenile Delinquent Act:

"that the care and custody and discipline of a juvenile delinquent shall approximate as nearly as may be that which should be given by its parents and that as far as practicable, every juvenile delinquent shall be treated not as a criminal, but as a misdirected and misguided child, and one needing aid, encouragement, help and assistance."

#### JURISDICTION OF JUVENILE COURTS.

Juvenile Court jurisdiction varies considerably throughout the world. Contrary to popular opinion, not only delinquents but dependent and neglected children, too, fall within the jurisdiction of the juvenile court in most cases.<sup>3</sup> The inclusion of non-delinquent cases under juvenile court jurisdiction illustrates the wider scope of the juvenile court and

1. Tappan, op. cit., Teeters and Reinemann, op. cit., Thomas, op. cit., present reviews of the rise of juvenile courts.
2. Teeters and Reinemann, op. cit., p. 282, as quoted by Roscoe Pound, "The Juvenile Court and the Law", 1944, pp. 13-14.
3. According to the U.S. Bureau's statistics based on 399 juvenile courts throughout the U.S.A. for 1948, non-delinquency cases amounted to 1/3 of the total case load (See Preliminary Statement, Juvenile Court Statistics, 1948).





emphasizes the court's non-criminal character.

"One of the fundamental principles of the juvenile court idea is the exclusiveness of jurisdiction, that is, the assurance that the all-inclusive function and scope of this court, established to deal with children in need of aid, protection, and guidance, should not be curtailed or abridged. In reality, however, a considerable number of States exempt certain offences - e.g., murder, manslaughter, rape, and other felonies - from the jurisdiction of juvenile courts; such exception might apply merely to children above a specified age or only to certain counties within the state."<sup>1</sup>

Age limitation provides one of the most conspicuous variations in laws respecting juvenile court jurisdiction. Although usually no minimum age is mentioned, seven years is generally considered the minimum age limit. "This usage is based on the common law concept that a child under seven years is 'incapable of felonious intent'".<sup>2</sup>

Although most American jurisdictions set eighteen years as the age limit, the actual limit varies from sixteen years to twenty-one years and includes different age limits for different classes of cases and for the two sexes.<sup>3</sup> The Federal Juvenile Delinquency Act applies to Juveniles under eighteen years of age. As has been stated, in Canada the age limit may be set at either sixteen or eighteen years.<sup>4</sup>

It should be noted that the age limit for juvenile court jurisdiction does not preclude the transferring of any juvenile case to the criminal court if such a transfer is deemed necessary "for the best interest of the child or of the public".<sup>5</sup>

1. Teeters & Reinemann, op. cit., pp. 304-305. A table showing exclusive and concurrent jurisdiction in delinquent cases, according to states will be found in Cosulich, G., "Juvenile Court Laws of the U.S.", National Probation and Parole Association Yearbook, 1939, and Tappan, P.W., "Children and Youth in the Criminal Courts", The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science, Volume 261, January, 1949.
2. Teeters & Reinemann, op. cit., p. 310.
3. Ibid, p. 312. For age limits of juvenile courts in Europe, see Sol Rubin, p. 7, "The Legal Character of Juvenile Delinquents". The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science.
4. Dominion Juvenile Delinquents Act, 1908.
5. Standard Juvenile Court Act (Section 10) Revised Edition, National Probation and Parole Association Yearbook, 1949.



## JUVENILE COURT PROCEDURE.

Since the treatment of juvenile offenders is founded upon the principles of their need for guidance, the proceedings are essentially non-criminal and usually follow the stages enumerated here briefly.<sup>1</sup>

(1) Initiation of Proceedings. Proceedings may be initiated as a result of a petition filed by any citizen, informal complaints, or arrest by law enforcement officers. Often formal court action can be avoided by the investigating authorities who may be members of the police department or the juvenile probation department, if they feel that the matter can be handled unofficially and the petitioner agrees. In some communities, referees and special groups are chosen to investigate the charges made to see if the case can be handled unofficially. For example, New York City's Bureau of Adjustment, which is manned by a representative of the Board of Education, the Juvenile Aid Bureau and the Probation Department, attempt to diagnose, refer and sometimes treat certain types of cases if the petitioner agrees and if the child is a first offender. In Chicago, the Children's Protective Association performs much the same function. In many instances there is no way of gauging the extent of cases handled unofficially because of the lack of records.

(2) Appearance, arraignment, adjournment and social investigation.

After the filing of a petition, the child is arraigned. If the child is not at court under arrest, a summons, or, if necessary, a warrant for

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1. For further information see Cosulich, op cit., and the Standard Juvenile Court Act.



arrest, is issued to bring in the child. Generally the arraignment involves a more or less formal statement to the child of the charges made, the section of the statute violated and an explanation of the rights of adjournment to secure council and witness. However, because the trend in juvenile court proceedings is to informality, usually the use of defence counsel is discouraged. In some courts the hearing follows arraignment unless time is required to produce witnesses. If the hearing is held immediately upon arraignment, or after a short adjournment to procure witness, the case is usually adjourned for a period between one week to a month for disposition. Under this procedure, the probation department has time to make a social investigation.

The social investigation, which may include physical, mental and psychological examinations of the defendant, is carried out because it is felt that the child's personality and his situation, not his conduct, are the important issues. Information about the child may be gathered from the family, the neighborhood, the school, and/or the child's employer. Further information regarding personality, adjustment and mentality is often obtained by having the child examined at a guidance clinic. Since the conducting of social investigations forms an important part of the work of the probation officer, he should have adequate training in the techniques of taking case histories.

(3) Parole or Remand (Detention). If a social investigation is to be carried on, some arrangement must be made to ensure the return of the





child to court after the adjournment. Usually the court chooses one of two methods; either releasing him on his word or "parole" to a parent, relative or social agency, or remanding him to detention confinement. Some juvenile courts use parole wherever possible so as to avoid any possible institutional contamination, because of the danger which may result from placing a child with numerous delinquents; particularly if the child is found to be non-delinquent or not in need of institutional treatment. Nevertheless, detention is sometimes necessary in cases where the child is picked up by the police, or brought in by parents who refuse to take him home because of his conduct; where the child's anti-social conduct seriously threatens person or property, or for clinical observation. In addition, many courts use periods of detention for their presumed therapeutic value in shocking, coercing, or threatening the child into "behaving himself".

There appears no reasonable justification for applying institutional treatment in a shotgun empiricism to cases which have not even proved delinquent, on the grounds that some of them will need confinement and that, of those, some will require only brief segregation. Such treatment before - and often in place of - diagnosis leads easily to the practice not only of "jailing" every child-defendant brought in but then discharging them (unless the offence is considered very serious) in the fond hope that they will have "learned their lesson." Casual administrators in some juvenile courts should discover more of the content of the lessons that are really learned in typical junior jails.<sup>1</sup>

Places of detention vary from one community to another. The most popular methods of detention include jails, detention homes, boarding homes and other institutions. The United States Bureau of Statistics,

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1. Tappan, op. cit., p389.





based on reports from 380 courts, indicated that jails were used for detention in 11% of all children's cases in 1944, and 12% in 1945; this was 25% of all the children detained. The following table shows a breakdown of places of detention in the United States in 1945.

Juvenile Delinquency Cases, 1945: Places of Detention Care of Boys and of Girls. In Cases Disposed of By 374 Courts.<sup>1</sup>

Place of detention care	Number			Percent		
	Total	Boys	Girls	Total	Boys	Girls
Total Cases.....	122,851	101,240	21,611			
Detention care reported....	76,002	62,353	13,649	100	100	100
No detention overnight...	43,100	36,824	6,276	57	59	46
Detention care overnight or longer.....	32,902	25,529	7,373	43	41	54
Boarding Home.....	331	292	39	*	1	*
Detention Home #.....	22,659	16,948	5,711	30	27	42
Other institutions.....	760	503	257	1	1	2
Jail or police station"..	8,735	7,507	1,228	12	12	9
Other place of care//....	156	75	81	*	*	1
Place of care not rep. ....	261	204	57	*	*	*
Detention care not reported.	46,849	38,887	7,962			

\* Less than 0.5 percent.

# Includes cases of children cared for part of the time in detention homes and part of the time elsewhere but excludes cases of children also cared for in jails or police stations.

" Includes cases of children cared for part of the time in jails or police stations and part of the time elsewhere.

// Includes cases of children cared for in more than one place but in places other than detention homes, jails, or police stations.

1. Tappan, op. cit., p. 395.



It is felt that these figures relative to detention care are low, for in many communities, even in those with the best specialized juvenile detention facilities available, a high proportion of children are sent to jail according to official records, while in many other places no records were kept.<sup>1</sup>

Much has been written about the inevitable evil effects of jail placements on children detained there,<sup>2</sup> and there has been a gradual decline in the number of children placed in jails.

In a study of the detention facilities by the National Probation Association, Sherwood Norman found that two-thirds of the detention homes studied were overcrowded with two and three times as many children being held in some of the shelters as the quarters provided for. Some children were found to have waited for six months to more than a year for court or agency to relieve them from "temporary short detention". The study further states:

Delinquent children requiring secure detention were often found cared for in the same institution as dependent and neglected children. There was a tendency in almost every community studied to concentrate on one type of detention care to the detriment of children needing other types of care. For instance, detention homes geared to the care of dependent and neglected children failed to provide security for the older delinquent group who were relegated to the jail. Other homes were operated as though all the children were young criminals. Nowhere did we find realistic provision for the sixteen-and seventeen-year-old delinquent youngster although juvenile court jurisdiction in over half of our states now includes this group.

Finally, in most detention homes we found the very conditions which out in the community are pointed to as causes of delinquency; lack of understanding relationship between children and adults; the presence of

1. See Sherwood, Norman, "Detention Facilities for Children", National Probation and Parole Association Yearbook, 1946, pp. 86-100.
2. See Gerlach, Edgar M., Treatment Prior to Trial, National Probation Association Yearbook, 1946.



companions who act as delinquency seducers; lack of full recreational program; lack of a meaningful school program; lack of professional child-guidance services, etcetera.<sup>1</sup>

It was found that the detention facilities which set up adequate programs and leadership were, almost without exception, small institutions and boarding homes, not mass congregate institutions. It would appear, then, that good results generally appear to be attainable only through the handling of small numbers of children by a well-qualified staff.

(4) Hearing and Adjudication and the Role of the Juvenile Court Judge.

The juvenile court judge has two major jobs to perform; he must adjudicate those brought before him to determine their status, and he must determine disposition for the adjudicated offenders. Although these functions are comparable to those of a judge of the criminal court, there are several differences in that (a) there is no definite penalty for a certain offence and the law must be interpreted in terms of the current situation, that is, the offender's personality and social requirements must be considered, and (b) there is a choice of the treatment facilities to be applied in order to ensure the individualized treatment necessary to rehabilitate the juvenile offender.

It would appear that the qualifications of a juvenile court judge should include not only training in law, but knowledge of child psychology and child welfare. As well a good children's court judge should also be warm, understanding and tolerant. As Mr. Justice Cardoza stated:

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1. Norman, op. cit., pp. 87-100.





The Judge is to give effect in general not to his own scale of values, but to the scale of values revealed to him in his readings of the social mind. Our function as judges, if not to transform civilization, is to regulate and order it. The book of life changes and the values revealed to us today may be different from those that will be revealed to us tomorrow.

The judge of the juvenile court finds himself in new surroundings when he takes over his position. His notions of a court gathered from studies in law school and practice at the bar must undergo a radical change when he is called upon to administer the most socialized court in the long history of the law. He has to decide human questions which cannot be settled merely by citing old precedents. You cannot chart the future of a girl or a boy or a family by repeating what a learned judge said in a celebrated case. A children's judge must have an understanding of human personalities and the cause and effect of social conditions. To this end, he must diligently apply himself to the study of crime, the criminal, the criminal law. He must have more than a passing acquaintance with the sciences of medicine and of human behavior. He must understand something of the mysteries of psychiatry; he must be an amateur economist and a spiritual adviser; he must develop a philosophy of life from the study of thousands of cases which come before him, a philosophy which will bring him wisdom and understanding. A rather large order for one person, is it not?<sup>1</sup>

To secure the quality of judges needed, careful selection must be made on the basis of qualifications for the job. Even then, however, a judge cannot rise above the level of his staff and treatment resources.

#### (5) Methods of Treatment.

The treatment of juvenile offenders varies as much as the jurisdiction of juvenile courts in different places. At one end of the scale we find the ideal, "individualized" treatment, which is protective and educative, at the other end we find the emphasis placed on the deterrent and punitive aspects of treatment which ignores completely any consideration of the delinquent as an individual. Since the primary aim is not one

1. Waldman, Henry S., "The Judge and His Community", National Probation Association Yearbook, 1936, p. 310, cited in Tappan, op. cit., p. 251.





of punishment, it was to prevent the latter, strictly legal approach, that juvenile courts were first set up.

In most juvenile courts in Canada and the United States, more and more cognizance is being taken of the value of the results of the social investigation. Such data, which provide the judge with intimate knowledge of the offender, are invaluable in helping to determine what treatment is best for the offender. Unfortunately, the juvenile court procedures under enumeration are the broad outlines of the ideal situation and are not the methods in general current use. Often a judge may dispose of the case with no knowledge of the offender other than his age and type of offence. However, regardless of the extent of the knowledge of the offender and his situation, the judge must choose one of the following methods of treatment:<sup>1</sup>

1. The child may be placed under supervision (on probation) in his own home or in custody of a suitable person elsewhere, upon such conditions as the court should determine.
2. The child may be committed to the custody or guardianship of a public or private institution or agency authorized to care for children or to place them in family homes, or under the guardianship of a suitable person.

"In placing a child under the guardianship or custody of an individual or of a private agency or institution, the court shall whenever practicable, select a person or an agency or institution governed by persons of the same religious faith as that of the parents of such child (section 19)

Whenever a child is committed by a court to custody other than that

1. See section 18 of the Standard Juvenile Court Act (U.S.A.) and An Act Respecting Juvenile Offenders, 1945 (Alberta).



of his parents, or is given medical, psychological, or psychiatric treatment under order of the court, and no provision is otherwise made by law for the support of such child or payment for such treatment, compensation for the care and treatment of such child, when approved by order of the court, shall be a charge upon the county where such child has a legal settlement. The court may, after giving the parent a reasonable opportunity to be heard, order and decree that such parent shall pay in such manner as the court may direct, such sum, within his ability to pay, as will cover in whole or part the support and treatment of such child. If such parent shall willfully fail or refuse to pay such sum, the court may proceed against him as for contempt (section 20)," <sup>1</sup>

3. The child may be placed in a hospital or other suitable place for examination and treatment by a physician, psychiatrist, or psychologist.
4. The child may be dismissed, with a reprimand, if no further court action is needed.
5. The child, or his parents, may be ordered to pay a sum of money as a fine, restitution or damages.
6. Final disposition may be suspended or adjourned indefinitely.
7. Other care and treatment, which the judge deems to be in the best interest of the child, may be ordered.

#### DISCUSSION OF METHODS OF TREATMENT.

##### I. PROBATION

"Probation, like many another institution, was established on the basis of a finely humane and practically valuable ideal but without provision being made for a well considered growth and development. Indeed, the progress of probation from its earlier and later sound conceptions of justice and economics can largely be characterized as blundering ahead. 'In general, probation service is ineffectively organized, is not on a professional basis and all studies of results heretofore have been limited and inadequate.' When studying, even superficially the results of probation and the procedures carried out actually on probation, the reader should bear in mind possible differences in probation officers, differences

1. Sections 19 and 20 of Standard Juvenile Court Acts, cited in Teeters and Reinemann, op. cit., p. 329-330.



in personality, training, energy, caseloads, and districts in which they work." <sup>1</sup>

The foregoing quotations suggest the great divergence in actual probation methods. Probation, which originally seemed to be the best method of controlling juvenile delinquents, was instituted to give guidance to boys and girls who may or may not recognize the fact that they need advice and/or assistance. Theoretically, probation officers take the place of guardians or parents insofar as helping the delinquent live in socially acceptable ways. To be successful, it is essential that the probation officer have an extensive knowledge of children and their problems and methods of coping with them. The officer must know the difference between natural mischief that exists in normal children and destructive asocial tendencies found in children who seem bent on destruction. The officer must know the facilities available to help the child in his readjustment. No longer is probation considered primarily as having the child report periodically to the probation officer or having the probation officer visit the home and insert a check mark opposite the delinquent's name, to show that contact has been made during a certain period. Today, probation may consist of any of the following measures:

1. The child may be removed from the home, or the home may be moved to another neighborhood. In the latter event, the probation officer must do casework on the family.

2. Probation may be related to the health of the individual. In

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1. Healy, W., in "Preface" of Beard, B.B., Juvenile Probation, American Book Company, 1934.





this case, the probation officer must first concern himself with the health aspect before he can cope with the delinquency as such.

3. Probation may mean finding the type of companions the child requires. This would involve a knowledge of groups, clubs, hobbies, and the substitution of constructive pastimes for the old delinquent types of recreation.

4. The probation may be related to the work situation of the delinquent. The probation officer may find it necessary to find employment or perhaps advise and help a delinquent who appears to be misemployed to help find the best job for him.

5. Probation may extend to the education of the child. In this instance, the probation officer must decide with the child what would be best for him and may advise the child to return to school, or to change to a different type of school. Problems arising from the school situation itself must be faced and dealt with.

Since the work of the probation officer may involve any of the foregoing aspects, it is necessary that the officer have complete knowledge of the delinquent. This complete knowledge is best obtained from specialists who work together with the court and the parents. It would appear that the knowledge needed might best be obtained from a complete social investigation.

In addition to knowing about the delinquent, the probation officer must establish confidential personal relationships between the family and himself. If he is to work with the individual, the probation officer must





have the confidence of his family as well. Prompt action is very necessary. The future success of any probation depends a great deal on the competent and critical evaluation of the methods in use and the results obtained. Since no one method will apply to all delinquents, it is necessary that the probation officer be prepared to change his tactics at almost any time during the period of probation. If, then, he is to be able to cope with all the many types of probation, the probation officer must be well qualified for his work. The qualifications which appear best for a probation officer seem to be based primarily upon adequate training in the social sciences and a complete knowledge of the behavior of children. He must be familiar with the specific laws within which he operates and the powers and limitations of his position. The probation officer must also be patient, willing to learn, and warm-hearted. If he is not interested in his work, the probation officer may become one of the mechanical men who denotes his contacts by check marks in a book rather than critically evaluating his procedures and the success or lack of it in each case. If an efficient officer is to do the work outlined he must have a small enough caseload that he has time for each probationer.

A study of 500 juvenile delinquents who appeared in the Judge Baker Guidance Clinic, and the Juvenile Court in Boston, and who were placed on probation between the years 1924 and 1929 was carried out by Beard. The delinquents were not chosen on the basis of any type of offence but rather were chosen because they were put on probation. There was a lapse of five



years between the court appearance of the delinquent and the follow-up study. Of the 500 delinquents studied, there were 400 boys and 100 girls. Probation ranged from two weeks to three years.

	<u>BOYS</u>		<u>GIRLS</u>	
	<u>No.</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>No.</u>	<u>%</u>
Success	172	43	76	76
Temporary Success	135	34	12	12
*Failure	85	21	12	12
Undetermined	8	2	0	0
	<u>400</u>		<u>100</u>	

\*Failures included those who ran away, who faced charges in higher courts, or who served sentences in jails or other institutions.<sup>1</sup>

The result of Beard's study indicates that probation may be one of the more successful methods of treatment if carried out in a thorough manner. It must be remembered that the group of delinquents studied had the benefit of a psychological and mental examination at the Judge Baker Foundation. In other words, the probation officers had a fairly extensive knowledge of the delinquents and their situations and were able to apply individualized treatment. The study further indicates that, where treatment began immediately the chances for reformation were greater than where there was a forced delay; that no one element or combination of elements discovered can definitely preclude the possibility of success.

A study by Healy and Bronner of the results of probation, reports that, on the whole, it can be said that one in every three cases placed on probation appears before the court a second time and approximately one

1. Beard, B.B., Juvenile Probation, American Book Company, 1934, pp. 147, 208-209.



in eight cases appears a third time.<sup>1</sup>

The result of another writer shows that, in Alberta, during the years 1920 to 1930, out of 400 cases appearing in Juvenile Court, 292 were put on probation. Slightly less than two-thirds of the number put on probation did not appear again in court.<sup>2</sup>

Since the methods of probation today vary a great deal from community to community and from country to country, we are faced again with the difficulty of having any standard that is recognized by all workers in the field of juvenile delinquency. However, the following recommendations appear to be those most stressed by workers in the field of probation:

(1) Court facilities should be enlarged to provide quick action, first in the investigation of the delinquent, and secondly in the treatment of the offender.

(2) Qualified workers should be obtained.

(3) In order to obtain these workers, an attractive salary must be offered and case loads must not be too heavy.

(4) There should be opportunity for probation officers to keep pace with the newer methods.

(5) Records and statistics must be kept. Permanent records of arrests and court appearances of both adult and juvenile offenders make it possible to ascertain the rise or fall of delinquency. These records also provide a means of checking an adjustment of any delinquent, juvenile

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1. Healy, W., and Bronner, A., Delinquents and Criminals; Their Making and Unmaking, 1926, pp. 284-311.

2. King, H.L., op. cit., 1934, Chapter V.





or adult. Insofar as records of the actual probationers are concerned, information regarding the occupation and changes noted in the delinquent should be recorded. The value of a social service index which would serve as a clearing house for all social welfare agencies and which would supply data concerning all contacts made by any member of the child's family with any social agency, is clearly indicated.

No discussion of probation would be complete without emphasis on the fact that probation cannot be effective unless the individual is willing to help himself. He must be assisted in finding his own way at his own pace. In other words, the probation officer defines the situation and sets the conditions. What the offender wants to do about it is his responsibility. In this regard, "A small degree of constructive change which is securely planted within the individual will serve him far better than rapid change, which when the support is removed, falls as does a house of cards."<sup>1</sup>

## II. CUSTODY OR GUARDIANSHIP.

In general, it is best whenever possible, to leave the child in his own home, rather than remove him. However, if there are great deficiencies in the home or if the child's conduct is so dangerous that treatment at home is impossible, his removal becomes necessary and a choice must be made between foster-home placement, work placements, and institutionalization.

### A. Foster Home Placement.

This type of placement attempts to provide a wholesome situation

1. From Taber, R.C., "The Value of Case Work to the Probationer," National Probation Association Yearbook, 1940, pp. 176-177, as reprinted in Tappan, op. cit., p. 326.





resembling as closely as possible a family patterning and providing the affection and emotional security which the child needs. Where the child's delinquency is directly related to the situational factors of his own home environment, the change may be very helpful. Not all delinquents, however, will benefit from foster-home placement. The type of child who may best adjust to foster-home placement can generally be determined through careful analysis by the court facilities. According to Carl Rogers, the following factors, in particular, deserve careful consideration before foster-home placement is attempted.

- (1) the child's behavior patterns
- (2) his stability
- (3) the skill of placing agency
- (4) age, under nine years being optimum and placement over the age of thirteen relatively unfavorable
- (5) heredity, relative freedom from defects, such as mental disease, epilepsy, etc., being important.
- (6) attachment to his own family, the best results being obtained where the child is not too attached to his parents, where he feels rejected and unhappy.
- (7) intelligence, average or close to average intelligence being <sup>1</sup> desirable rather than extremely high or worse, extremely low mentality.

"Hence, if the child is not a serious or habitual delinquent, if he is emotionally stable and non-neurotic, particularly if he lacks any seriously unfavorable hereditary factors, and if he is placed by a private agency with trained workers and careful standards of selection, to avoid over-placement or under-placement, the chances of success through placement are particularly high." <sup>2</sup>

In addition to careful selection of foster-homes, some effort must be made to modify the circumstances of the offender's own home and neighborhood, to alleviate the conditions that originally led him into

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1. Rogers, Carl, The Clinical Treatment of the Problem Child, Houghton, Boston, 1939, pp. 97-101.  
 2. Tappan, op. cit., p. 419.



difficulty. Preparing the child for his return, and the home to receive him is a necessary part of the foster-home program. It appears then, that the foster-home can make a definite contribution to the treatment of many types of juvenile delinquents, if adequate facilities and trained personnel are available, and if the delinquent is not in need of skilled therapy.

Studies of the outcome of the foster-home placement indicate varying degrees of success which range from 15% to 100%. Healy, Bronner, Baylor, and Murphy, in studying 501 delinquents, including recidivists as well as first offenders and non-delinquents, with personality problems, found that almost 85% were successful under foster-home care. Non-delinquency, later, was taken as the criterion of success in the case of delinquents. In considering non-delinquents, progressive gain in ability to master his difficulties and maintain his position as a desirable member of the family or community was taken to mean success. The Gluecks, in contrast, found a success rate of only 15% in studying a group of 41 placements. It is suggested that the study of Healy, et al reflect an unusually intensive treatment of the cases rather than an ordinary foster-home program.<sup>1</sup>

## B. Institutionalization.

"The objectives of institutionalization may be described as follows: An institution for delinquent boys exists for the purpose of re-educating the individual child committed to its care by the court. Re-education here means something much broader and deeper than any amount of improvement or increase in the academic instruction or vocational training which the individual child is to receive. It means reshaping his behavior patterns. It means giving thoughtful attention to his personality diffi-

1. Long, Harvey, "Foster Homes for Aftercare", National Probation Association Yearbook, 1943, pp. 161-175.





culties to the end that he may achieve healthy emotional development as well as growth in mental equipment or manual skill. It means giving the child an opportunity to meet and experience life under controlled channels that will gratify him and be acceptable to others. It also implies making quite sure before he is released that he has acquired sufficient re-education, or re-direction, to enable him to make those personal and social adjustments that will be necessary if he is to lead a fuller, happier, more productive life and if he is to avoid those conflicts which had previously brought him, and would again bring him, into conflict with society and its laws. To imply that all these things can be done for all boys would be to sidestep reality flagrantly. Realistically, the institution's task is to discover each boy's assets and liabilities in relation to the social scheme, and then to go as far as possible in each case toward building up a personality capable of satisfactory self-direction.

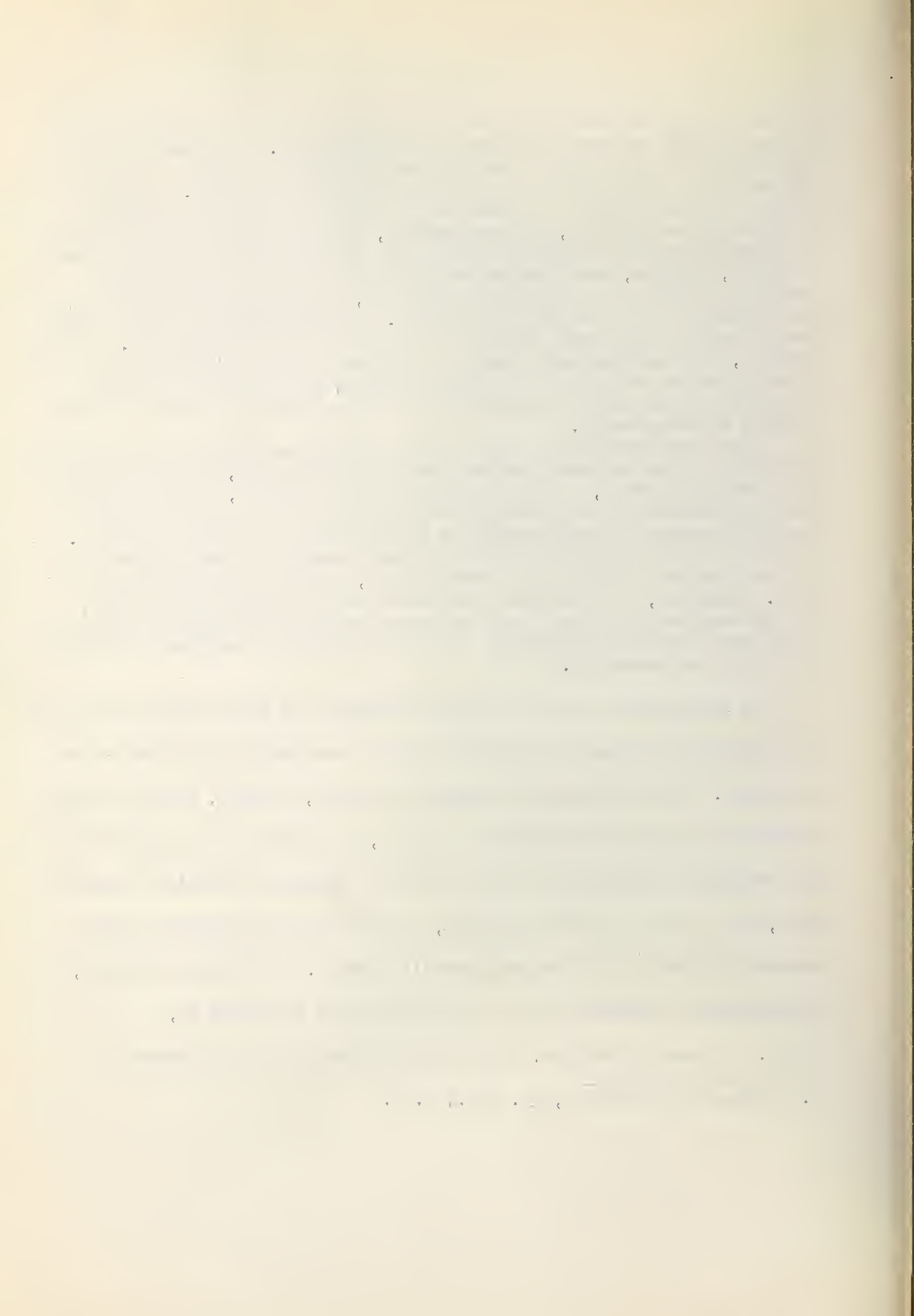
"Since readjustment to social living is now recognized as the primary purpose of these training centres for delinquent youth, it is inevitable that the institution, or its associate public agencies, should shoulder the responsibility for assisting the child during the first difficult weeks and months of readjustment in the community to which he returns. For life in that community differs in many essential features from life in even the most ideal of its institutions, and the transition is not easy. Moreover, if it is the same community from which the boy came, the chances are very great that the same destructive influences and forces which were contributing factors in bringing about his original conflict will still be operating."<sup>1</sup>

The institution is used for young offenders in ideal theory only when they cannot be treated effectively in their own homes or by foster-home placement. In the decision to commit the child, however, the court must consider not only the individual interest, to provide the treatment that may lead most quickly and effectively to an adequate socialized adjustment, but a social interest as well, to protect the community against excessive hazards from the delinquent's conduct. According to Rogers, institutional commitment may be indicated where the child is,

1. A mental defective. (He should be sent in such instances to

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1. Bowler and Bloodgood, op. cit., p. 3.





an institution specialized for defective delinquents, of course.)

2. A badly spoiled child or a psychopath, whose history of misconduct is so serious or persistent as to indicate the necessity of securing the help of the community and providing him with specialized and intensive treatment such as an institution may provide. (Ideally, this should be in a specialized type of institution too.)

3. A mature child or adolescent, especially one over twelve years of age who does not require the close attention and security that a foster-home might provide.

4. One who has failed under prior treatment plans of other sorts. The institution appears to be best reserved as a method of last resort for those who have failed distinctly under plans of treatment in their own communities.<sup>1</sup>

It must be noted that fairly often, because of lack of other facilities for treatment, juvenile offenders are sent to institutions when they would probably profit more from another type of treatment such as foster-home placement, for example.

Classic studies by the Gluecks, Healy and Bronner, Bowler and Bloodgood, of the results of institutional treatment present a very bleak picture. Careful research has shown from 65 to 85 percent of failures among boys who have spent time in reformatories and industrial and training schools. Some of the main reasons for the lack of success appear to be the persistence of traditional punitive motives and methods, the development of attitudes and habits of dependence which result from

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1. Rogers, Carl R., The Clinical Treatment of the Problem Child, Boston, Houghton Mifflin Co., 1939, pp. 136-144.



over-organization of daily living, the detrimental associational aspects resulting from placing young offenders with older and more experienced delinquents, the lack of any "individualized" rehabilitative treatment, and, the lack of a trained, fully equipped staff in most correctional institutions.

Fortunately, the current trend in institutional treatment is toward rectifying some of the evils just mentioned. Two particularly outstanding examples of effective institutional programs judged on the basis of successful reduction of recidivism among youths who have received training in their institutions, and the embodiment of the objectives set out by the White House Conference on Child Health and Protection, are the English System of Approved Schools and Borstal Institutions, and the California Correction Authority. These two types of institutions will be considered in the following chapters.

### III. OTHER SUITABLE PLACEMENT.

The child may be placed in a hospital or other suitable place for examination and treatment by a physician, psychiatrist, or psychologist.

Occasionally the delinquent child may be a mental defective or suffering from some type of brain damage, physical impairment, or emotional upset. If further treatment beyond the scope of the court seems necessary, the judge may refer the child to any suitable agency.

### IV. DISMISSAL.

The child may be dismissed, with a reprimand, if no further court action is needed. This provision enables a judge to "adjust" or "dis-



charge" a case in which no real delinquency has occurred. For example, in situations where the individual has been guilty of a minor mechanical violation of a law or municipal ordinance, usually a reprimand by the judge is all that is required.

#### V. FINE, RESTITUTION, OR DAMAGES.

The child, or his parents, may be ordered to pay a sum of money as a fine, restitution or damages.

The Juvenile Court Standards recommends that "restitution or reparation should be required only in cases where they seem to have disciplinary value or to instill respect for property rights." While several state laws particularly authorize this practice, in many other instances, restitution is imposed as a condition of probation. Older children, particularly, can benefit by having to pay restitution, especially if they have to earn part of the required sum.

Although Juvenile Court Standards states that fines, which are considered as a means of punishment, "should never be imposed in children's cases," they are used, however, particularly for infraction of by-laws.

#### VI. FINAL DISPOSITION MAY BE SUSPENDED OR ADJOURNED INDEFINITELY.

Such disposition is made occasionally where the judge deems it necessary to administer more than a reprimand. The child is warned that his case may be subject to review and disposition at any time; particularly if he should appear in court again for any further offence.



VII. OTHER CARE AND TREATMENT.

Other care and treatment, which the judge deems to be in the best interests of the child may be ordered.

This very general provision gives the court wide discretion in dealing with the child in any way that serves his welfare. For example, the court has a right to continue or postpone a hearing in order to have more time for a thorough study and observation of the child; or if the child has run away from home, the court can order the case to be transferred to the juvenile court of the child's residence. Other dispositions (including a type of probation period) may be warranted in individual cases such as those referred to the Family Service Bureau.





## CHAPTER IV.

### MODERN TRENDS IN INSTITUTIONALIZATION.

#### A. ENGLISH INSTITUTIONS.

In England the control of all persons and jails throughout the country centers in the Home Secretary. This control is the sole duty of the Prison Commission which is one division of the Home Office, and the Borstal Institutions are under its charge. Probation officers and the management of the training schools for juvenile delinquents is the work of still another department. Judges, also, are appointed through the Home Secretary. Thus, England has a closely integrated system which functions largely under the centralized direction of the Home Office.

After several years of successful experimenting with Juvenile Offenders along the lines of modified Borstal Training, the Prevention of Crime Act, in 1908, officially sanctioned the establishment of judicial machinery to deal effectively with juvenile and youthful offenders. Under the Children and Young Persons Act of 1933, division has been made into two classes: "children" up to the age of fourteen and "young persons" to the age of seventeen; both of these classes are handled by the juvenile courts. Treatment may be by any of the following methods:<sup>1</sup>

1. Dismissal of the charge
2. Conditional discharge
3. Fines. Preferably, the fines are to be paid gradually by the offender in person.

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1. From Juvenile Delinquency in Britain, p. 15, British Information Services.



4. Whipping. This has become almost entirely obsolete, and was condemned by the Departmental Committee on Corporal Punishment, 1938.

5. Committal to an Approved School. An Approved School is a boarding school provided by local or other authorities, and inspected and approved by the Home Office, that is designed to give two or three years training, under discipline, to children who are delinquent or who have bad home conditions. The age limit for entry is seventeen. The leaving age may even be as late as nineteen.

6. A Probation Order. Young offenders may be committed to an approved hostel or home, to the care of a fit person, or to satisfactory lodgings.

7. An order for restitution up to the sum of £25 (\$100).

8. Committal to a Borstal. The court can only recommend this treatment to a higher court, unless the offender has absconded from an approved school or has misbehaved seriously there, in which case it may commit directly.

A Borstal is an institution where delinquents not under sixteen or over twenty-one, who have shown themselves to be serious offenders, may be placed for a maximum of three years, with a year of supervision on parole to follow. Boys, however, may be released to supervision any time after six months, and girls after three months.

9. Temporary imprisonment. This form of treatment is strongly discouraged by the authorities. It may be used only when the court certifies an older offender as too unruly or depraved for detention in a remand home.



10. Committal to remand homes. Remand homes are places for temporary detention where boys and girls may stay while they wait for admission to an approved school or for trial. Cases are frequently remanded for medical or psychological inquiry.

Thus, when the court's disposition is commitment, it is customarily either to an Approved School or, for those sixteen to twenty-one, to a Borstal, if the judge considers the boy fitted for special Borstal Treatment. These are roughly analogous to the juvenile training schools and the adolescent reformatories in the United States. They differ strikingly however, in their wider variety, smaller size, and in the special efforts that are directed toward classification of offenders. It is recognized there that, at the present stage in the development of understanding of delinquency and its treatment, it is still impossible to assign children to institutions with real assurance that the particular facilities will best meet the specific needs of the given child. However, with a wide variety of schools to select from, the characteristics of which are well known to the Home Office,<sup>1</sup> and a system of diagnostic classification, there is a definite effort to work flexibly and experimentally toward more precise adaptation between the varied types of schools and the diverse children who need training.

#### P. THE APPROVED SCHOOLS

There are no state-supported reform schools for younger children in Britain. Instead there are approximately 150 private schools of various

1. The Home Office publishes a Directory of Approved Schools, which gives the names and brief particulars of each school. The schools are arranged in distinct groups, while each retains individual characteristics within the group. For a useful analysis of the Approved Schools, see Making Citizens, His Majesty's Stationery Office, London, 1946.





types. The British Approved Schools are so named because they have the stamp of approval of the Home Secretary. Each is under private managers but is partially subsidized by the Home Office.

The Schools are divided according to age groups: for boys, Junior Group schools are from ten years of age to just under thirteen, which resemble the ordinary elementary schools; Intermediate group from thirteen to fifteen, which emphasize education and training; and Senior Group, over fifteen, which stress practical and technical training. There are two types of schools for girls: Junior Group, under fifteen; Senior Group, over fifteen.

Until recently, the lay juvenile court judges, upon the advice of the trained probation staffs of their courts, sent children to those schools that seemed to have the most adequate facilities and programs for the specific needs of individual children. Now, however, classifying centers for approved schools are being developed. At present, there are four of these centers. Children are sent first to these allocation, diagnostic depots for a period of from one to three months, where their potentialities and needs are studied. From there they are sent on to the school that seems best suited to their needs. The length of time the child spends at an Approved School depends upon his behavior and progress and the home environment to which he will be returning. Although the school authorities usually set the date when the child will leave the school, the Home Secretary, may alter the time of commitment. The usual length of time spent at an Approved School is between one and three years.



The schools vary in size from one Approved School that has only six children to one that can accommodate 300. Most of them are relatively small and care for any number from fifty to one hundred and fifty. An attempt is made to place children who need much individual care and attention in small schools and those <sup>who</sup> will profit from widely varied activities and team games in the larger schools. For older children, there is wide variation in the vocational training facilities, which include farm schools, training in carpentry, metal work, and machine production, nautical schools, schools with special hostels attached from which older children may go out to work daily. There are also "short term" schools where the period of training is only from six to twelve months. The wide choice of training offered by the different schools and the discrimination in classification enables the Home Office to allocate the child to the place which best fits his needs.

Upon release from an Approved School, there follows a period of close supervision under an after-care organization which provides an appointed welfare officer to supervise the child and help him with his problems of readjustment. The actual problems usually are not too great when the child is first released because for some time before he leaves the school he is allowed home on visits to help re-orient himself. As well, the welfare worker helps prepare the family for the child's return.

#### C. THE BORSTAL SYSTEM.

The English Borstal system can be defined as a State Reformatory system in which the object is to teach and train the individual adolescent



offender of an age between sixteen and twenty-one, in such a manner that on his discharge he may be able to resist temptation and be inclined to lead an upright, honest life, as a useful member of society. Offenders who may be considered for Borstal training are those (1) who have had a previous conviction, (2) failed to observe a condition of recognizance, probation, (3) who have certain criminal habits or tendencies, or, (4) have been in association with persons of bad character.

Before sentence is passed the judge usually has a preliminary report by Probation Officer and police, on the offender's physical and mental condition and on his general social behavior as well as the specific report and recommendations of some Borstal authority who has been assigned to study the case and is on hand when sentence is passed. The person who has drawn up the report of Borstal study must be in court to answer any questions. The sentence is to a Borstal Institution because it is not up to the judge but the Prison Commissioners to determine to which Institution the offender will be allocated. Although each boy is assigned to his Borstal training for a period of four years, the actual length of time he will be obliged to spend there is usually decided by the Prison Commissioners after the offender has spent a period of about one month at an observation center during which time complete physical and psychological examinations are given, and case histories are obtained from the offender, his home and social agencies. Criminal histories and finger prints are cleared through the Central Record Office at Scotland Yard.

After the offender has been at the observation center for about one





month, he is sent on to one of the other six types of Borstal Institutions for a period of four years.

Classification of the offenders for these institutions is as follows:

1. Those considered best among the young offenders
2. Those physically and mentally inferior
3. Fairly high intelligence and very few convictions - offenders

who have failed one probation and have a considerable inclination towards crime.

4. Types between 3 and 5. Motor car thieves, generally sent to an island.

5. Older than others - more experience in crime.

6. Oldest type - treated as men rather than boys.

Of the thirteen institutions for the training of boys, four are security buildings, seven are situated in camps or adapted country houses, one is a specially built Borstal of the open type (no walls), and one is an old prison with an outlying camp. A correctional Borstal for absconders and others who misbehave seriously is situated in a separate wing of Wandsworth Prison. A recall center at Portsmouth exists for the further training of boys recalled from supervision. Transfer to institutions with stricter methods and close confinement is possible if the individual fails to respond to the more open type of institution. According to Teeters and Reinemann, "The unwallled Borstals are the most progressive in administration and treatment, employing some of the best techniques in therapy known to<sup>1</sup> penal science."

Treatment in the Borstals is mainly reformatory and positive and is

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1. Teeters and Reinemann, op. cit., p. 540.





aimed at helping the individual form better habits and sentiments. Misconduct is treated as a symptom of some underlying condition and individual re-education is attempted in and through the group. All Borstals are similar in the sense that a uniform philosophy of treatment prevails; that the boys should spend long hard days of useful and interesting work and that there should be regular physical training, and active evenings with educational or handicraft classes or gymnastics, and a reasonable time for play, but with only one quiet hour for reading and writing. However, the details of the programs in the several institutions vary widely. Most of them have substantial farms and in some, the boys may go out each day to work for neighboring farmers at the full prevailing wage rates. In shops and building work, young men who are considered fit are technically trained to do skilled work.

Some of the many features of the modern Borstals that offset, to a great degree, the prison atmosphere of the American reformatory, are the installation of the so-called "house plan" patterned after that of the preparatory school from which many of the especially selected personnel were originally drawn; the substitution by the staff members of civvies for uniform; the development of intimate personal relationships between the boys and the administrative officers.

When the offender has completed his stay, which may vary from six to thirty-six months, at a Borstal institution, the rest of his sentence, of four years, is spent under supervision outside the institution on what is known as license, similar to our parole. The Borstal Association



conducts the after-care service which is concerned with the rehabilitation and adjustment of the released boy in his community. Both full-time and part-time workers are on staff of the Association.

Still another set of workers concerned with the after-care of Borstal lads are the Borstal Voluntary Associates who augment the personal service to the boy and his family. These volunteers are drawn from religious and charitable organizations and act as sponsors for the boys. Both the parole officer and his sponsor visit the boy's home and report their findings to the central office. If, in spite of the help extended to him, the boy resumes his former delinquent habits, his license may be revoked and the lad may be returned to a Recall center for a period up to six months, or committed to a Prison.

Although no long term study of reconviction of individuals released from Borstal institutions has been done, a study of the boys released during the years 1942-1946 shows that approximately 50 percent of the boys receiving Borstal training were not reconvicted. If those reconvicted only once are added to this figure, over 70 percent of the boys did not revert to a life of crime within the specified time. When compared with the 65 to 100 percent failure of other institutions in rehabilitating offenders, the Borstal system as a method of treatment appears to be much superior to institutionalization practised in the United States. It is recognized that a more intensive study of the boys released from Borstals might show a lower rate of success.

The report of the Royal Commission to Investigate the Penal System of Canada suggests that there is no known better treatment for young



offenders than the Borstal system which has succeeded in a marked degree in preventing the young offender from becoming an habitual offender. Its success seems to depend upon the personnel it attracts to its service. Human contacts mean more than elaborate buildings and it is declared policy of the system, first, to obtain the services of the best men it is possible to find, and second, to give them as wide a scope as it is practicable to give.<sup>1</sup>

Nevertheless, there are criticisms of the Borstal system. Healy and Apler deplore the lack of actual psychiatric treatment, particularly in view of the fact that "no small part of the work done with Borstal lads partakes of the nature of psycho-therapy; yet it is equally true that the fine endeavor to utilize personal influence is based very largely on the subjective impressions of the individual members of the staff....."

In spite of the splendid chances offered by the Borstal setting for such expert work, psychiatrists are not at hand to undertake it."<sup>2</sup>

Teeters and Reinemann suggest that the definite limiting of the sentence to four years may be unwise since no one knows at the outset just how long it will take to reform or adjust a delinquent to the accepted rules of social living. They add, however, that the importance paid to the offender, rather than to the offence, in considering the amount of time to be spent in duress is a progressive feature of the Borstal system. Two more points of criticism which they raise are:

1. The authorities rely too much on trade training.

1. Report of the Royal Commission to Investigate the Penal System of Canada, 1938, pp. 204-210.
2. Healy, W., and Alper, B., Criminal Youth in the Borstal System, the Commonwealth Fund, New York, 1941, pp. 227-228.





2. That, formerly, too much paternalism existed in the system as a result of the use of "house masters."<sup>1</sup>

D. THE CALIFORNIA YOUTH CORRECTION AUTHORITY.

The findings and recommendations of a study by Harrison and Grant of the handling of young offenders sixteen to twenty-one years of age in New York City in 1937,<sup>2</sup> aroused the interest of the American Law Institute which undertook the task of preparing the draft of a new pattern for the administration of criminal justice for youthful offenders. The model draft, Youth Correction Authority, was published in 1940 and in 1941, California became the first state to enact legislation establishing a Youth Correction Authority. In 1943 the name was changed to Youth Authority.

The act was originally designed to meet the needs of the older offenders. The upper age of 23 years of age was later changed to 21 years. The legislation removed the power of judges to sentence young offenders to state institutions under the auspices of the Youth Authority when the existing three state correctional schools were turned over to the Authority. Instead the offenders must be committed directly to the Youth Authority. The power to grant probation was left with the courts.

In addition to the three previously mentioned schools, the California Youth Authority administers three more institutions and four forestry camps. These institutions include a ranch school, a school for

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1. Teeters and Reinemann, op. cit., pp. 542-543.

2. Harrison, L. V., and Grant, P. M., Youth in Toils, Macmillan, New York, 1938.



boys from fourteen to sixteen years of age, presenting difficult personality problems, and a school for less seriously delinquent girls from eight to sixteen years of age.

The four forestry camps are conducted for males between the ages of sixteen and twenty-one. The work is actually done under, and financed by, the State Department of Forestry, with supervision under the Authority. The work of fire-fighting, trail-blazing, cutting of undergrowth and parasite control is in charge of forestry personnel, and on the job the boys are directly under their supervision.

In addition to the boys assigned directly to the forestry camps by the Youth Authority, boys from two correctional institutions are placed in forestry camps for an intermediate period of three or four months as a means of preparing them for final release.

The camps are small in size, having a capacity for housing from fifty to seventy, thus making possible more individualized treatment than is possible in large institutions. The camps provide educational as well as vocational facilities.

The importance of having qualified, suitable personnel is recognized. Most of the supervisors and counsellors are college graduates with training in guidance, sociology and other social sciences. Provision has been made for the supervision of the administration and its policies.

The Youth Authority has its own diagnostic center where all offenders spend a month or more before any decision is reached regarding treatment.



In addition to placing offenders in work camps and correctional institutions, the Authority grants and supervises paroles. As of May 12, 1949, 4,050 young people were on parole, and 2,200 were in the various facilities of the Authority.

The results of a study of the number of young offenders who violated their paroles in California and New York State indicate that 30 percent of the California offenders were violators, as compared with 48 percent in New York.<sup>1</sup>

The establishment of the Youth Authority in California represents a major step in the treatment of juvenile offenders. It removes from the judges of the courts the power of prescribing treatment and places the authority for such action with a group of trained workers who are much better equipped to classify and diagnose the offenders. By fostering the widening of institutional facilities, the Authority is increasing its ability to provide "individualized" treatment.

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1. Beck, B. M., Youth Within Walls, Community Service Society of New York, p. 35.





## CHAPTER V.

### THE EDMONTON JUVENILE COURT IN 1944:

#### JURISDICTION AND METHODS OF TREATMENT.

##### Introductory History:

Provincial authority to deal with juvenile offenders under the age of 16 years once the province has passed legislation providing for the establishment of juvenile courts and detention homes for children was granted by the Dominion Juvenile Delinquents Act, 1908, revised in 1929. Alberta's implementing legislation was enacted in 1914 and Edmonton's first juvenile court came into being shortly afterward. The Juvenile Courts Act of 1914 was revised in 1922, and in 1935 this Act was repealed and the Juvenile Court Act of 1935 came into force. This Provincial Act was more closely related to the Dominion Juvenile Delinquents Act of 1929 and incorporated all the powers vested in a Juvenile Court under the Federal Act. In 1932, by proclamation of the Governor-in-Council, "child" was taken to mean "any boy or girl apparently or actually under the age of 18 years."

The Child Welfare Act of 1944 incorporated into one act the Alberta legislation concerning neglected and dependent children, the juvenile court, adoption of children and children of unmarried parents.<sup>1</sup>

##### The Edmonton Juvenile Court:

The underlying principles on which the Juvenile Delinquents Act is

1. A discussion concerning the constitutional soundness of Alberta's legislation regarding Juvenile Offenders appears in the I.O.D.E. Study, Welfare in Alberta, Chapter X, the Report of the Royal Commission to Investigate the Penal System of Canada, 1938, p. 55, and the Report of the Alberta Royal Commission on Child Welfare, Edmonton, 1948, Section XIII.





based may be stated as follows:

1. A child ought not to be treated as an adult even though it breaks the law. Although a child over the age of seven years is regarded as capable of committing crime, it ought not be held as strictly accountable for its actions as an adult;

2. Incarceration of children awaiting trial ought only to be permitted in detention homes properly arranged for the purpose;

3. Probation is more effective method of dealing with juvenile offenders than imprisonment;

4. Where probation fails, children ought to be detained in industrial or reform schools for education, training, and reformation, and not sentenced to prison for punishment;

5. Children put on probation ought to be under the supervision of specially trained probation officers. Where probation officers are not appointed, a voluntary committee of citizens should be available to assist and advise the court.<sup>1</sup>

Although the Alberta Juvenile Courts were based on the same principles, the Child Welfare Act of 1944 gave the Provincial Superintendent of Child Welfare almost absolute power as far as child treatment was concerned.

"The Child Welfare Act of Alberta is a codification in one statute of a number of legislative provisions affecting children. Provincial law with reference to neglected children, immigrant children, Juvenile

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1. Report of the Royal Commission to Investigate the Penal System of Canada, 1938, pp. 185-186.



Courts, adoption, and children of unmarried mothers is brought together into one place and its administration under one department of the government.

"The Child Welfare officers created by this statute and directed by this department bring their cases for adjudication into a Court created by the same statute. The Judge is appointed under the terms thereof by the Lieutenant Governor-in-Council or by the Minister of this Department or by the Superintendent of Child Welfare. The probation officers of the Court are the Child Welfare Workers appointed under this act subject to direction and supervision of the Child Welfare Commission. The Clerk of the Court is such a Child Welfare Worker or the Superintendent himself. The Court reports in detail to the Commission, the Superintendent, in his capacity of Superintendent, being required to keep records of each case heard by the Court.

"Certainly it is apparent that the Department hears its own cases in Courts manned by its own people.

"In various other respects it will be seen that the simplification is made possible only by ignoring significant differences, perhaps the most obvious being the provision of the same shelters for delinquents as for neglected children." <sup>1</sup>

Of particular note is the great divergence between the provincial and federal provisions for the appointment of probation officers. In Alberta, probation officers could be appointed by the judge, "subject  
 1. I. O. D. E. Study, op. cit., p. 122.



to the approval of the superintendent" while the Juvenile Delinquents Act implies that every probation officer shall be under the control and subject to the directions of the Judge or the Court.

During the year 1944, the City of Edmonton employed a total of seven people classified as Probation Officers. Because of transfers, enlistments, etc., there actually were only four full-time workers: two male and two female. Although classified as probation officers, these civic employees did all the varied social work connected with adoptions, neglected children and juvenile delinquency, which came to the attention of the City's Children's Aid Department, which was associated with the City Relief Department. (Today the all-inclusive title of Department of City Welfare is used to designate the many functions performed by the one department). Not one of the seven workers was a qualified trained social worker. It is interesting to note that although the number of offenders appearing in Juvenile Court in Edmonton had more than trebled during the twelve year period from 1932 to 1944,<sup>1</sup> the number of employed probation officers remained the same.<sup>2</sup>

#### Jurisdiction:

Jurisdiction of the Edmonton Juvenile Court extended not only over juvenile delinquents, "apparently or actually under the age of eighteen",<sup>3</sup> but also over neglected and dependent children and children of unmarried parents. As was stated in the Introduction, a Juvenile Delinquent is

1. Dominion Bureau of Statistics, Canada, Juvenile Delinquents, Ottawa, King's Printer.
2. King, H. L., op. cit., Chapter V.
3. Proclamation of the Governor-in-Council in 1932.





"any child who violated any provision of a Provincial statute, or of any by-law or ordinance of any municipality or any provision of the Criminal Code creating an offence which is not an indictable offence, or who is guilty of sexual immorality or any similar form of vice."<sup>1</sup> Contrary to general public impression, delinquent problems in Alberta are neither as widespread nor as serious as child neglect and the need of children for adequate protection, particularly of the child born out of wedlock.<sup>2</sup>

#### Court Procedure:

##### I. Initiation of Proceedings

The initiation of proceedings in the Edmonton Juvenile Court followed much the same pattern as in other juvenile courts. The juvenile might have been brought to the attention of the court as a result of a petition filed by any citizen, an informal complaint, or arrest by any law enforcement officer.

Although unofficial handling of cases occurred in many instances, there is no way of ascertaining how many offences were disposed of in this way, for unless the offender had been in trouble previously and was known to the juvenile authorities there was little likelihood that any record of the unofficial handling was kept.

##### 2. Appearance, Arraignment, Adjournment and Social Investigation.

The initial appearance in court usually combined the arraignment and the actual hearing. The social investigation was non-existent in the majority of cases, and very seldom were adjournments granted for the

1. Dominion Juvenile Delinquents Act, 1908.

2. See Summary of Findings and Recommendations of Alberta Welfare Study Conducted by Provincial Chapter I.O.D.E., published 1947, p. 15.



purpose of obtaining any further information.

### 3. Parole or Remand (Detention)

If the charges were laid as the result of informal complaints, the youths usually were permitted to remain in their homes until the trial, unless the parents were the complainants and wished to have the child removed from the home. In such instances the child was placed in the Detention Home which was housed in the South Side Police Station.

If the alleged offenders were arrested by the police (particularly at night), they also were lodged in the South Side Detention Home pending trial in Juvenile Court. The practice of placing offenders in the atmosphere of the home for unspecified periods of time and the almost arbitrary disposition of them, prior to and sometimes without judicial hearing, at the discretion of the Superintendent of Child Welfare, and the actual deplorable conditions of the Home itself were denounced bitterly, in Alberta.<sup>1</sup> The allegations of this report were substantiated by the Report of the Alberta Royal Commission on Child Welfare.<sup>2</sup>

### 4. Hearing and Adjudication and the Role of the Juvenile Court Judge.

The hearing and the adjudication processes in the Edmonton Juvenile Court were similar to the methods used in other Juvenile Courts. The trial was conducted informally and any enquiry was handled by the Judge. Present were the Juvenile, a parent, or if possible, both parents, of the child, the complainant, only if he was required to give further evidence, and the probation officer who acted as clerk of the court.

1. I. O. D. E. Report, op. cit., pp. 139-141

2. Report of the Alberta Royal Commission, 1948, pp. 55



First the judge had to determine whether or not the juvenile was guilty of the alleged offence. If it was decided that the child was an offender, the judge had to decide upon appropriate disposition. As in most juvenile courts in Edmonton, there was no specific treatment meted out for a specific offence. It was up to the judge to determine what would help most in rehabilitating the offender. Often the decision was based on very sparse information of the child as an individual.

In 1944, two Edmonton Juvenile Court judges were appointed by the Minister of Public Health. The appointees were leading church-men, a Protestant and a Catholic, who were very interested in children's work. Juvenile Court was held once weekly. The men had no legal training and, except for a nominal sum for car-allowance, were not paid.

### 5. Methods of Treatment<sup>1</sup>

Although an important provision of the Dominion Juvenile Delinquents Act specified that the Court may "commit the child to an Industrial School duly approved by the Lieutenant Governor-in-Council", and the Dominion Act clearly defined "industrial home" with provisions for its establishment made under the Prisons and Reformatories Act of Canada, no such home existed in Alberta. Institutionalization of delinquent girls will be discussed in a later section.

Because of the lack of a training and Industrial school for the rehabilitation of male Juvenile Offenders, Juvenile Court judges most

#### 1. Information regarding methods of treatment was obtained from three main sources:

- (a) The I.O.D.E. Study; Welfare in Alberta, Chapter XI,
- (b) The Report of the Alberta Royal Commission on Child Welfare, 1948, Section XIII.
- (c) Thomas, T.E., The Treatment of Male Juvenile Delinquents with special reference to Alberta, pp. 145-171.





frequently used the following dispositions:

(1) warnings, (2) imposing fines, restitution, and costs, (3) placing a child on probation. Mention is made of institutionalization being utilized during the years 1920-1932.<sup>1</sup>

### Probation

Cassidy reported that in Alberta, "organized probation service is very slight and is scarcely specialized at all, usually being provided by the police."<sup>2</sup> In 1943, the committee, investigating the provincial child welfare services, reported "If the probation system is to function properly, it is obvious that each city and town must fulfil its obligation under the Child Welfare Act and the Juvenile Courts Act, to appoint a sufficient number of probation officers/to adequately take care of probation work in the city and town, and it is necessary that competent and well-trained probation officers be appointed."<sup>3</sup>

These two quotations adequately sum up the Edmonton situation. Because of their heavy case-loads, including work with neglected and non-delinquent children, the probation officers were unable to give the required attention to the individuals under their supervision.

### Foster-Homes

The system of farm work placements and foster home placements afforded some measure of success but was found to be impractical for the habitual or semi-habitual delinquent between the ages of twelve and eighteen years. It was not uncommon for many of these children to run

1. King, H. L., op. cit., 1934.

2. Cassidy, H.M., Public Health and Welfare Reorganization in Canada, The Ryerson Press, Toronto, 1945.

3. Brief of the Edmonton Council of Social Agencies, 1947, p. 31.





away from foster-homes as many as five or six times.

The allegations of the I.O.D.E. study "that the system of home-finding, child placing and subsequent supervision of delinquent children in family foster care is not properly organized or administered" were upheld by the Royal Commission who reported that "In several files there is evidence that the foster parents had great difficulty in adjusting the child to the home, and wrote in repeatedly reporting the facts and finally had to return the child to the Department but no visits were made in these cases."<sup>1</sup> The Commission recommended that steps be taken to widen the foster-home service and to improve it by making a systematic search for suitable foster-homes throughout the province; the homes should be investigated thoroughly before being approved as suitable for children; an agreement in writing, outlining in detail their rights and responsibilities be obtained from the foster-parents; and that all foster parents be visited frequently.

#### Institutionalization.

When delinquent girls were removed from their own homes and made wards of the government, two institutions, both private agencies, were available for rehabilitation. Roman Catholic girls could be committed to the Home of the Good Shepherd, in Edmonton, and non-Roman Catholic girls to the Mountview Home, in Calgary. Except for three substantiated complaints regarding the Mountview Home made in the I.O.D.E. study,

(1) that girls were being placed there by the Child Welfare Branch, with-

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1. Report of the Royal Commission, op. cit., p. 20.



out case histories or adequate background history; (2) that the girls were being discharged without previous consultation with the matron; (3) that non-delinquent neglected girls also were being committed to the Home, the Royal Commission recommended that since the institutions were doing good work, closer cooperation with them was indicated.

Under special arrangements with the Province of Manitoba, Alberta secured the benefits of institutionalization, for a certain number of delinquent boys, by placing them in the Manitoba Home for Boys at Portage La Prairie. In 1920, thirty-four delinquent boys from Alberta were committed to the Home at Portage La Prairie.<sup>1</sup> The Province paid the full cost of maintaining the boys committed to the school by the juvenile courts. In 1932, King stated that the province was less enthusiastic about maintaining boys in the school, and gradually the plan became less and less popular so that by 1944, the committals were almost abandoned.

In 1944, one writer stated: "The lack of training schools for delinquent boys and girls has led to some difficult problems. It has been necessary to detain some unstable juveniles in mental institutions while in some cases the court had no alternative but to commit young people to the provincial jails. At the other end of the scale, some difficult children, who should be in institutions are kept in foster homes."<sup>2</sup>

Meanwhile, the officials of the Child Welfare Department steadily maintained that the Alberta system of foster-home placement was vastly superior to reform schools which were "just breeding places for young

1. The Edmonton Journal, December 19, 1935, statement issued by Mr. K. C. McLeod, Superintendent of Child Welfare.

2. Cassidy, H. M., op. cit., p. 289.



criminals",<sup>1</sup> and that "if a boy is a failure on the first farm, we send him to another, and keep doing that until he finds the place where he is happy and ready to cooperate."<sup>2</sup>

The Royal Commission was of the opinion that, by 1947, a group of approximately one hundred delinquents, ranging from eight to eighteen years, had failed to respond to the treatment provided by the existing facilities. Warning, suspended sentences, probation, fines, being made wards of the government and being placed on farms had not improved their behavior.

Both the Edmonton Council of Social Agencies and the Royal Commission recommended the establishment of institutional training facilities, preferably along the lines of Borstal Schools.<sup>3</sup>

#### Other Care and Treatment.

Little mention has been made of any other type of care and treatment being administered. Although psychiatric services were available, few of the offenders were given any type of psychological or psychiatric examination. The Royal Commission recommendation in this regard was "as a first step in dealing with the problem, we recommend that the psychiatric services of the province be used to greater extent than in the past, so that every boy who shows a pattern of delinquency will receive examination in the early stages."<sup>4</sup>

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1. From Edmonton Journal articles quoting Mr. T. R. Blaine, Superintendent of Child Welfare, cited in Thomas, T. E., op. cit., p. 166.
  2. Edmonton Journal, February 4, 1943, assistant supervisor of Child Welfare speaking to a meeting of Child Welfare officers in Edmonton cited in Thomas, T. E., loc. cit.
  3. The same recommendation had been made in 1938, by the Royal Commission investigating the Canadian Penal System.
  4. Report of the Royal Commission, op. cit., p. 60.





## CHAPTER VI.

### THE PRESENT STUDY.

#### Authorization for the Study

The present study was undertaken with the permission of Mr. E. S. Bishop, Superintendent of the Edmonton City Welfare Department, who was anxious to have some research done on the City Welfare files of Juvenile Offenders to ascertain what recording methods had been used by previous workers. Permission to use the information obtained from the files was granted by Doctor W. W. Cross, Minister of Public Health, with the stipulation that Government Wards, as a group, could not be segregated for a separate study. Their files were used, without differentiation, in exactly the same manner as those of other offenders. No separate study has been made of the system of wardship and no particular mention has been made of juveniles who were made wards prior to January 1st, 1944. Since committing a child to the care of the Superintendent of Child Welfare makes use of one of the treatment methods available, statistics regarding the number of offenders who were made Wards in 1944 have been included. To omit such information would distort the study.

#### Scope of the Study

Originally it was planned to do a complete study of Juvenile Delinquency in Edmonton in 1944. This study was to include an analysis of the causes and treatment of juvenile delinquency as well as an evaluation of the information contained in the files of the offenders,



in much the same method used by King in his two statistical studies of delinquency in Alberta,<sup>1</sup> rather than to parallel the types of non-statistical investigations of the treatment of juvenile delinquents in Alberta.<sup>2</sup> However, because of the lack of pertinent information in most files, the original plan was discarded in favor of the present study which presents a statistical picture of delinquency and results of treatment, and also indicates how much information was available in the files. Treatment success, or lack of it, was evaluated on the basis of recidivism.

## Method

### I. Selection of Files Used

The selection of cases began with the scanning of the files of the City Welfare Department to separate the files of the delinquents from the rest. The chosen files were then arranged according to years in which the first offence occurred. Since 1944 seemed to be the peak year for delinquency, it was decided to concentrate on that year and to include not only first offenders but all offenders who faced charges in Juvenile Court during the year. With the exception of three cases, all the offences were committed in 1944. The total number of offenders was 204.

### II. Recording Method

The preliminary survey of the chosen files revealed the necessity of using some method of tabulating the desired data. Since it was not feasible to consult the files repeatedly, it was decided to use data

1. King, H. L., A study of 400 Juvenile Delinquent Recidivists Convicted in the Province of Alberta During the Years 1920-1930, B.Ed., Thesis, 1932.  
King, H. L., A Study of the Principles Involved in Dealing with Juvenile Delinquents and Their Application in the City of Edmonton, M.A. Thesis, University of Alberta, 1934.
2. I.O.D.E. Report, op. cit.  
Report of the Royal Commission, op. cit.,  
Thomas, T. E., op. cit.



sheets as a means of summarizing the file information. These data sheets were based on the charge sheets used by the Department of City Welfare.<sup>1</sup>

To facilitate the evaluation of treatment methods, the Juveniles were sub-classified according to those who were:

(1) First Offenders in 1944 (151 offenders). This group, which included all the offenders who appeared in Juvenile Court for the first time in 1944, was divided into two groups comprising:

(a) The offenders who appeared in court only in 1944, subsequently referred to as the Single Offenders and abbreviated S. O.

(b) The offenders with later delinquent records, as juveniles or adults, subsequently called the Recidivists since 1944, and abbreviated R. S.

(2) Juvenile Offenders with records prior to 1944 (53 offenders), who were designated as Recidivists in 1944, and abbreviated R. These offenders were further subdivided into successful and unsuccessful groups.

It is noted that, because of the multiple offences committed by some of the Offenders, the total number of delinquents on some of the tables does not agree with the total given here for each group.

### III. Other Sources of Information

The offenders' files, in most cases, did not reveal information beyond the last delinquent act committed as a juvenile and the resulting disposition. To obtain further data, petitions were made to use the

1. Sample charge sheet and data sheet, indicating the extent of information obtained, are to be found in the Appendix.





files of the Provincial Attorney-General's Department, the City Police Department, the City Police Court and the R.C.M.P. In all instances, permission was granted and the respective agencies checked to see if they had any record of contact with the offenders under consideration. The results of these investigations appeared to give a fairly comprehensive behavioral picture of the individuals under study. As well, the files of the Social Service Exchange were consulted to see what contacts the Offenders and their families might have had with the various city social agencies.

#### IV. Presentation of Data Obtained

Since the information obtained, other than facts pertaining to age, address and names of parents, generally was for less than half the group, it was not feasible to attempt a study of the causes of delinquency. It was decided therefore to study the delinquency picture according to:

- (1) Age and Sex of Delinquents
- (2) Age, and Sex of Delinquents and Type of Offence Committed.
- (3) Disposition and Results.

These groups were further sub-divided on the basis of Major and Minor offences committed.<sup>1</sup> Because of the small number considered there was some combining of offences, for example, theft includes theft of car and taking car without owner's consent.

#### Abbreviations Used in the Study

Since the same abbreviations are used throughout the tables, an explanatory guide is offered.

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1. The classification used was, in essence, the one used throughout the Dominion. The complete list will be found in the Appendix.



No. Del. - Number of Delinquents

Off. - Offences committed

No. Chgs. - Number of charges

## Offences

### A. Major Offences

T. - Theft and Attempted Theft

BET - Breaking and Entering, and Breaking, Entering and Theft, as well as the "attempted" categories

WD - Wilful Damage

Rt. Ps. - Retaining Possession of Stolen Goods, including Receiving and Selling Stolen Goods and Being in Possession of Stolen Goods.

C.C. - Contempt of Court

As. - Assault and Attempted Assault

Sex - Sexual Offences (one charge described only as "Buggery")

- Im. - Immorality

- Cont. - Contributing to Juvenile Delinquency

Th. Life - Threaten Life

F.P. - False Pretences and Fraud

Fg. - Forgery.

### B. Minor Offences

By-Laws - violations of municipal ordinances such as smoking on street cars, bathing in the river, and infractions of by-laws pertaining to bicycles.

Cr. An. - Cruelty to Animals



Weapon - In possession of firearms, shooting within city limits, etc.

V.H.T.S. - Violations of Vehicle and Highway Traffic Act

R.A. - Violations of Railway Act

Tr. - Truancy

Intox. - Intoxication. Violation of the Provincial Liquor Act

### Dispositions

W - Warning

RDF - Restitution, Damages or Fine

S.S. - Suspended Sentence

Pl - Placement)  
                                   ) Combined under Pl.  
 P - Probation )

Str. - Strapping

S.D. - Adjourned Sine Die

Wd. - Made a Ward of the Superintendent of Child Welfare

Wv - Waived to Criminal Court

? - Unknown, includes Interim Adjournment.

### V. Results of the Study

The results obtained in the study will be considered under the following headings:





1. Age and Sex of Offenders.

TABLE I.

AGE AND SEX DISTRIBUTION OF THE JUVENILE OFFENDERS

AGE	MAJOR			MINOR			TOTAL		GRAND TOTAL
	BOYS	GIRLS		BOYS	GIRLS		BOYS	GIRLS	
9	4						4		4
10	8						8		8
11	13	1		1			14	1	15
12	10						10		10
13	20			1			21		21
14	19	1		2			21	1	22
15	21			3			24		24
16	19			9			28		28
17	22	1		10			32	1	33
NA	32			7			39		39
TOTALS	168	3		33			201	3	204

Table I gives major and minor offences separately for boys and girls, and the total offences at each age level. The small number of girls is at once apparent.



TABLE II

PROPORTION OF BOYS AND GIRLS APPEARING IN JUVENILE COURT

	<sup>1</sup> U.S.A. 1945	CANADA 1944 <sup>2</sup>	PRESENT STUDY	EDMONTON DOMINION FIGURES
BOYS	82%	96%	99%	95%
GIRLS	18%	4%	1%	5%

Table II gives the percentage distribution of boys and girls appearing in Juvenile Court. The discrepancy between the two figures given for Edmonton may be due to the fact that for Dominion Statistics the year ends September 30, while for this study the year ended December 30. Here again, the small number of girls is apparent.

2. Age and Sex of Offenders and Type of Offence Committed.

TABLE III

AGE AND MOST COMMON MAJOR OFFENCES

AGE	NO. OF DELINQUENTS	TYPE OF OFFENCES
9	4	W.D.
10	8	W.D.
11	14	T & BET
12	10	T
13	20	T
14	20	T & BET.
15	21	T & BET.
16	19	T & BET.
17	23	T
NA	<u>32</u>	T
	171	

1. From "Social Statistics", p. 11, U.S. Children's Bureau, 1945, as quoted in Tappan, *op. cit.*, p. 29.
2. "Juvenile Delinquents for Year Ended September 30, 1944," p. 22, Dominion Bureau of Statistics.



Table III, which illustrates the most common Major Offences for each age group, also indicates that three offences, Wilful Damage, Theft, and Breaking, Entering and Theft, were the most common for the entire group.

TABLE IV

THE PERCENTAGE COMPARISON OF THE TYPES OF MAJOR OFFENCES FOUND  
IN DOMINION STATISTICS AND PRESENT STUDY.

	DOMINION Under 16 years %	EDMONTON Under 16 years %	EDMONTON Under 18 years. %
Theft	51	53	54
Breaking, Entering and Theft	27	28	26
Wilful Damage	17	11	8
Retaining Possession	2	3	3
Forgery	0	4	4
Assault	2	1	1
False Pretences	0	0	1
Sex	1	1	2
Miscellaneous	0	0	1
Total	100	101	100

In Table IV, which compares the figures for the types of Major Offences found in Dominion Statistics with those of the present study, it will be seen that the two sets of figures agree fairly well, except for





Forgery which does <sup>not</sup> appear in the Canadian figures. However, when the complete picture is given for Edmonton, i.e., the sixteen and seventeen year old Offenders are included, the percentage of Theft rises slightly, Breaking, Entering and Theft, and Wilful Damage show a drop, while the figures for the other offences remain fairly similar.

TABLE V.

PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF MINOR OFFENCES.

Type of Offence	Percentage of Minor Offences for Major and Minor Offenders	Percentage of Offences for Minor Offenders only
Truancy	46	8
V. H. & T. A.	15	61
Weapon	15	6
By-Laws	15	22
R. Act	8	0
Others(inc. Intox)	1	3
Totals	100	100

In Table V, a comparison of the distributions of the total Minor Offences committed by both Major and Minor Offenders with the offences committed by Minor Offenders only, indicates many differences. Particularly noteworthy is the fact that Truancy, as a single offence, is not as great as Truancy combined with at least one Major Offence.

The main Minor Offences committed were concerned with the Vehicle, Highway and Traffic Act, and violations of By-Laws, such as swimming in the river, smoking on street-cars, etcetera. It was not feasible to do a comparison with the Dominion figures because of the many types of Minor Offences found in the latter statistics.



TABLE VI.  
AGE AND SEX OF MAJOR OFFENDERS.

AGE	FIRST OFFENDERS		RECID IN 1944							TOTAL	
	BOYS	GIRLS	BOYS ONLY							BOYS	GIRLS
			Court appearances in 1944								
			1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Total	
9	4									4	
10	8									8	
11	10	1	2	1					3	13	1
12	6		3	1					4	10	
13	15		2	2	1				5	20	
14	9	1	5	3	1			1	10	19	1
15	13		4	3	1				8	21	
16	10		6	1		1	1		9	19	
17	13	1	5	1	1	1	1		9	22	1
N.A.	30		1				1		2	32	
Totals	118	3	28	9	5	2	2	3	1	50	3

TABLE VII  
AGE AND SEX OF DELINQUENTS OF MINOR OFFENCES ONLY

AGE	FIRST OFFENDERS	RECID IN 1944	TOTAL
	IN 1944		
11	1		1
13	1		1
14	2		2
15	3		3
16	8	1	9
17	9	1	10
N.A.	6	1	7
Totals	30	3	33



The breakdown of delinquents according to age, sex, and past record is given in Tables VI and VII. For Minor Offenders there appears to be a proportional increase in age and number of offenders. Although the age groups of 13, 15 and 17 appear to be among the highest for all Major Offence categories, the very fact that, in the group of First Offenders, the unknown age group is the largest, precludes the drawing of any conclusions on basis of age and incidence of offences. Nevertheless, there are indications that, (a) the possibility of the individual becoming a repeated offender increases after the age of 13, (b) the greatest number of offenders fall in the 13 - 17 year age group. Here again, the number of female offenders shown appears to be small and out of proportion, particularly in view of the fact that the common offences of teen-age girls, as listed in the Dominion and United States Statistics, such as Immorality, Incorrigibility, and Running Away, constitute from 15 to 22% of the total offences.





3. Dispositions and Results

TABLE VIII.

THE PERCENTAGE DISPOSITIONS OF MAJOR OFFENCES FROM DOMINION  
AND U. S. A. STATISTICS, AND PRESENT STUDY.

	DOMINION Under 16 years	EDMONTON Under 16 years	EDMONTON Under 18 years	U.S.A. <sup>1</sup> Boys.
Dismissed	3%	0%	0%	
Warned	5	22	29.2	45 <sup>2</sup>
Probation	26	6	8.7	34 <sup>3</sup>
Fined	21	34	28.6	
Detained	1	0	0	
Industrial School	11	0	0	8
Suspended Sentence	24	8	4.6	
Corporal Punishment	1	8	2.9	
Sine Die	7	10	11.7	
Ward	0	8	4.1	
Waived	0	2	3.5	
Adjourned	0	5	6.4	
Others	0	0	0	13
	99%	103%	99.7%	100%

A comparison of the statistics found in Table VIII reveals that the Edmonton judges' dispositions for Major Offences favored Warning and

1. "Juvenile Court Statistics," U.S. Children's Bureau 1944-45, p. 11.
2. Includes Dismissed and Adjourned or Held Open Without Further Action.
3. Placement and Probation.



Restitution, Damages, or Fine, whereas, for the whole of Canada, Probation and Suspended Sentence were favored by judges, while in the United States the two broad categories of Dismissal, including Adjournment or Held Open Without Further Action, and Placement or Probation were most common. It will be seen that, when the Edmonton figures include the 16 and 17 year olds, there is a definite increase in the number Warned and an almost corresponding percentage decrease in the number Fined.

TABLE IX

PERCENTAGE DISPOSITION FOR MINOR OFFENCES.

<u>Disposition</u>	<u>Percentage.</u>
Warning	43.5
R.D.F.	43.5
S.D.	2.2
Str.	8.7
<u>Susp. Lic.</u>	<u>2.2</u>
	100.1

The overwhelming popularity of Warning and Restitution, Damages or Fine, as dispositions for Minor Offences is indicated in Table IX. Because of the predominance of these two dispositions, no further tabulation or breakdown of success according to disposition was done.



TABLE X.

## SUCCESS DISTRIBUTION ACCORDING TO DISPOSITION.

DISPOSITION	FIRST OFFENDERS			RECIDIVISTS			TOTAL		
	NO.	% S. (S.O.)	% UNS. (R.S.)	NO.	% S.	% UNS.	NO.	% S.	% UNS.
WARNING	39	66.6	33.3	11	27.2	72.8	50	58	42
R.D.T.	39	76.9	23.1	10	30	70	49	71.4	28.6
S.S.	4	25	75	4	25	75	8	25	75
Pl.	5	40	60	10	60	40	15	53.3	46.7
Str.	5	60	40	-	-	-	5	60	40
S.D.	16	62.5	37.5	4	0	100	20	50	50
Wd.	7	57.1	42.9	-	-	-	7	57.1	42.9
Waived	-	-	-	6	50	50	6	50	50
Adjourned	6	83.3	16.7	5	80	20	11	81.8	18.2
Total	121	66.9	33.1	50	40	60	171	59.1	40.9



According to the data tabulated in Table X, except for the Adjourned group, the smaller disposition groups among the First Offenders show less success than the larger groups. In spite of the small number considered in some groups, Suspended Sentence and Placement are the only two showing less than 50% successful. The two most successful dispositions are Restitution, Damages or Fine, and Warning.

With the exception of the dispositions of Placement and Probation, and Suspended Sentence, treatment success is lower for the Recidivist group.

Taking the total picture for both groups of Major Offenders, we note that the most frequently used disposition was Warning, closely followed by Restitution, Damages or Fine. The highest success rate is found in the comparatively small Adjourned groups. With the exception of Suspended Sentence, all the disposition groups indicate a minimum of 50% successful.

TABLE XI.

AGE AND DISPOSITION OF MAJOR OFFENCES.

Age	Wn	RDF	S.S.	Pl.	Str.	S.D.	Wd.	Wv.	Adj	Total
9	3						1			4
10	3	2			1	2				8
11	7	3		2			2			14
12	5	3		1		1				10
13	2	9	1	1	1	3	1		2	20
14	3	5	4	2		4	2			20
15	4	8	1	2	1	2		1	2	21
16	5	5		3	1	2			3	19
17	6	2	2	3		4		5	1	23
NA	12	12		1	1	2	1		3	32
	50	49	8	15	5	20	7	6	11	171





Table XI.

An examination of Table XI, which shows the frequently used dispositions according to age, indicates that, except for the 13, 14 and 17 year age groups, the two favored dispositions for each age were Warning and Restitution, Damages or Fine. In the three groups mentioned, Sine Die, Suspended Sentence and Waived were also used frequently.

TABLE XII.

SUCCESS DISTRIBUTION ACCORDING TO AGES.

FIRST OFFENDERS				RECIDIVISTS			TOTAL		
AGE	NO.	SUCCESS.	UNSUC.	NO.	SUCCESS.	UNSUC.	NO.	SUCCESS.	UNSUC.
9	4	75	25	-	-	-	4	75	25
10	8	87.5	12.5	-	-	-	8	87.5	12.5
11	11	54.5	45.5	3	-	100	14	42.9	57.1
12	6	66.7	33.3	4	50	50	10	60	40
13	15	66.7	33.3	5	20	80	20	55	45
14	10	40	60	10	20	80	20	30	70
15	13	76.9	23.1	8	62.5	37.5	21	71.4	28.6
16	10	40	60	9	44.4	55.6	19	42.1	57.9
17	14	64.3	35.7	9	44.4	55.6	23	56.5	43.5
NA	30	80	20	2	100	-	32	81.3	18.7
Total	121	66.9	33.1	50	40	60	171	59.1	40.9



Table XII shows the success distribution of dispositions according to age group. However, because of the large number for whom no age is given, it was decided not to attempt to correlate age and success of treatment.

In the First Offenders group, it will be noted that only two age groups, the 14 and 16 year groups were less than half successful, while in the Recidivist in 1944 category, only the 12 and 15 year groups were successful in at least half the number of cases. In considering the totals for the age groups, it will be noted that only the 11, 14, and 16 year old offenders were less than half successful.

TABLE XIII.

SUMMARY OF COMMON MAJOR OFFENCES, DISPOSITIONS,  
AND SUCCESS, ACCORDING TO AGE.

AGE	F.O.	R.	CommonMajor Offences	Common Dispositions	% Successful		TOTAL
					F.O.	R.	
9	4		W.D.	Wn	75%		75
10	8		W.D.	Wn	87.5		87.5
11	11	3	T & BET.	Wh	54.5	0	42.9
12	6	4	T	Wn	66.7	50	60
13	15	5	T	RDF	66.7	20	55
14	10	10	T & BET.	RDF, S.S., & S.D.	40	20	30
15	13	8	T & BET.	RDF.	76	62	71.4
16	10	9	T & BET.	Wn & RDF.	40	44	42.1
17	14	9	T	Wn & Wv	64	44	56.5
NA	30	2	T	Wn & RDF	80	100	81.3
Total 121					66.9	40	59.1



Table XIII, by combining several of the tables already presented, sets out in broad summary, the common offences, dispositions and the success percentage according to age. The results indicated on this table were noted under the preceding individual tables.

TABLE XIV.

DISTRIBUTION OF FIRST OFFENDERS AND RECIDIVISTS.

	FIRST OFFENDERS				RECIDIVISTS				TOTAL	
	S.O.		R.S.		Succ.		Unsucc.			
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Major Offenders	80	47.4	41	23.4	20	11	30	17.5	171	99.3
Minor Offenders	23	69.7	7	21	3	9			33	99.7
Total	103	50.5	48	23.5	23	11.3	30	14.7	204	100.0

The results of treatment given are indicated in Table XIV which shows the incidence of recidivism for all the offenders.

(a) Major Offences:

Of the 171 delinquents who appeared in the Edmonton Juvenile Court in 1944, 71% were first offenders; 29% recidivists, 33% of those appearing for the first time returned after 1944, while 67% of the First Offenders did not reappear. 40% of the Recidivists re-appeared after 1944.

(b) Minor Offences:

Of the 33 offenders in this group, 91% were First Offenders, 9% Recidivists, 32% of the First Offenders and none of the Recidivists re-appeared in Court after 1944.

(c) The total picture:

Of the 204 offenders, 74% were First Offenders, 26% were Recidivists, 32% of the First Offenders, 57% of the Recidivists and 38% of the total offenders re-appeared in Court after 1944.





## CHAPTER VII.

### DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSIONS.

#### THE JUVENILE COURT IN EDMONTON IN 1944.

Compared with the ideal standard for Juvenile Courts, The Edmonton Juvenile Court in 1944 was not as advanced as many in other parts of the world.

Earlier in this study it was indicated that modern theory regarding juvenile delinquency favors the theory of multiplicity of causation, and, as the two broad causes which account for most delinquent behavior, cites

- (a) an abnormal social environment
- (b) unusual or abnormal personality or character traits.

One of the preliminary findings of this study indicated the deplorable lack of information available about the offenders. Background material, as well as follow-up information, was almost non-existent. In some instances, the case was settled without any record of the offender's age, while in others, not even the disposition was entered on the file.

With such scarcity of information, it would be impossible to offer individualized treatment based on the needs of the total person in the total situation and specialized treatment techniques aimed at correcting rather than punishing.

Generally speaking, little help and information was sought from other sources such as Guidance Clinics, and there was no planned preventive work.

One of the chief reasons for the unfavorable court organization appears to have been the lack of trained workers. The judges were



clergymen who served on a voluntary unpaid basis. None of the workers were trained to deal particularly with juvenile offenders. All of the workers were too busy to carry out any special routine for juvenile delinquents, since the work with neglected and dependent children and children of unmarried mothers was also delegated to them.

Although the Juvenile Delinquents' Act, 1908, specifically stated that authority to deal with juvenile delinquents would not be granted to a province until juvenile courts and detention homes for children were provided, the only institutions in Edmonton available to the court were the South Side Detention Home for boys, which actually was part of the South Side Goal, in Edmonton; the Mountview Home in Calgary, and the Home of the Good Shepherd in Edmonton, for girls. Both of the latter two institutions were privately operated under church auspices and were under no legal obligation to accept delinquent girls.

Despite the fact that already much attention has been focussed on the Alberta Legislation pertaining to Child Welfare, in 1944,<sup>1</sup> it would be well to emphasize the autocratic position then enjoyed by the Superintendent of Child Welfare to whom all the field workers and the judges were responsible.

## I. THE INCIDENCE OF JUVENILE DELINQUENCY IN EDMONTON IN 1944.

### Sex Distribution

The figures shown for Edmonton indicate a marked lack of girl

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1. The I.O.D.E. Study, op. cit., Chapter XI.  
The Report of the Alberta Royal Commission on Child Welfare, section XIII, 1948.



offenders. It seems unreasonable to assume that Edmonton girls differ so much from girls in the rest of Canada and the United States that in Edmonton there is almost no history of Incurrigibility, Immorality and Running Away, which are the most common offences elsewhere. On the contrary, it is believed firmly that girls who were involved in such asocial behavior in Edmonton must have been warned, with no official action being taken, or else in many cases, the parents or friends were made responsible for the girls.

Further, it seems probable that in cases of Immorality, only the men involved were brought to trial.

It may be too, that incidents of Incurrigibility and Running Away were handled solely by the City Police or the Royal Canadian Mounted Police, who kept no records of girls involved and made no referral to Juvenile Court. Instead, charges of contributing to juvenile delinquency were preferred against the men involved.

#### Age Distribution

Except for the 12 and 16 year age groups, the number of offenders in each group has increased with age. However, it must be noted that since no ages were available for 32 offenders, nothing definite can be said with regard to age and number of offenders. It is almost impossible to estimate average age because of the large number for whom no age is given. The largest group of First Offenders consisted of the 13 year olds. Other studies indicate that the majority of boys in the United States were charged with their first offence between the ages of 14 and





15 years. Still maintaining some reservations due to large Unknown Age groups, if consideration is given to the offenders on the basis of First Offenders and Recidivists, it appears that the ages 13, 17, 15 in that order, were the highest groups in the First Offender category. While the Recidivists, although starting at the age of 11, appeared mainly in the 14 to 17 year groups.

It would appear that 12 years and up, generally speaking, are the peak years for juvenile offences.

## II. AGE AND TYPE OF OFFENCE

In view of the large number of offenders to be found in the Unknown Age group, it is impossible to state definitely that certain offences are preferred by any particular age group. However, the study indicates that the most common offences committed were Wilful Damage, Theft, Breaking, Entering and Theft. These three categories accounted for 88% of the major offences committed in Edmonton in 1944.

As might be expected, Wilful Damage, which included such offences as breaking insulators on telephone poles, was particularly popular with the two youngest age groups. Since only 12 offenders are concerned, however, it would appear that these boys were used as examples to discourage similar practices among certain gangs, and that ordinarily, such cases might have been handled unofficially.

Theft and Breaking, Entering and Theft were the offences most committed and were evenly distributed among the other age groups. Because of the large number of Theft offences occurring in the Unknown





Age group, it is believed that most of the offenders in that group must have been 11 years or older. Theft was the most popular offence and accounted for over 50% of the total offences. In this regard, the Edmonton figure compares well with that given for the Dominion as a whole.

It is interesting to note that, in this study, sex offences accounted for only 2% of the total offences. The Canadian figure is extremely low in comparison with the United States total which includes up to 18% of the juvenile offenders. At the risk of repetition, it is suggested once more that Immorality and charges of a like nature, must have been handled unofficially or in a higher court. It may well have been that, when juvenile girls were involved with men, Immorality charges were preferred against the men only and the girls were not referred to the Juvenile Court. It is very difficult to believe that more girls were not offenders in this regard, particularly in view of the fact that it was a war year and Edmonton was teeming with all types of transients.

Another disparity noted in the Edmonton and Dominion figures concerns the incidence of Forgery and False Pretences charges. Since it is unlikely that such offences were restricted to juvenile offenders in the Edmonton area, it is suggested that elsewhere,

- 1) the offenders were tried for other offences occurring in connection with Forgery and False Pretences, or
- 2) the charges were heard initially in the Police Court rather than being waived there by the Juvenile Court.

A consideration of the distribution of Minor Offences reveals



several interesting facts. In considering Minor Offenders only, the main Minor Offences committed were concerned with infractions of the Vehicle, Highway and Traffic Act, and violations of Edmonton By-Laws, such as swimming in the river, smoking on street-cars, etcetera. The popularity of such offences is understandable in view of the fact that the 16 and 17 year olds comprised over 70% of the known age group of Minor Offenders.

When the total Minor Offences, committed by both Major and Minor Offenders, were listed, the entire picture changed. The number of Truancy, Carrying a Weapon and Railway Act offences increased, while Motor and By-Law offences decreased. The fact that the incidence of Truancy, as a single offence, was not as great as Truancy combined with one or more Major Offences, bears out the importance of Truancy as a possible indicator of potential delinquency.

### III. TREATMENT OF OFFENDERS.

Treatment facilities in Edmonton in 1944 were almost non-existent. In most cases, treatment and disposition were one and the same. The judges were faced with few resources to implement corrective treatment.

A comparison of Table X showing the Edmonton dispositions for Major Offences and the figures for the Dominion and the United States indicates that the Edmonton judges favored Warning, Restitution, Damages or Fine, the judges in the rest of Canada made greater use of Probation and Suspended Sentence, while the judges in the United States used the two main broad categories of Dismissal, including Adjournment or Held Open Without Further Action, and Probation. It is thought that one of the



reasons for the difference in the Dismissal figures for Canada and the United States may be due to the greater amount of unofficial handling of cases in Canada.

A breakdown of frequently used dispositions according to age shows that, except for the 13, 14 and 17 year old age groups, the dispositions most used for all groups were Warning, Restitution, Damages and Fine. In those three groups, Sine Die, Suspended Sentence and Waived were used most frequently. It was noted during the research that in some instances a Sine Die disposition meant no further action by the Juvenile Court, even when the offender returned to answer to other charges. In addition, it was noted that 6.4% of the offenders received Adjournments which consisted of no further action by the Court.

Still another inconsistency worthy of mention was the fact that seven boys, all First Offenders, according to the information available, were made Werds of the Government the first time they appeared in Juvenile Court. There was nothing on their files to indicate the reasons for such stern measures.

When one considers the fact that the majority of the Offenders were in their teens and capable of noticing the inconsistencies found in the treatment meted to them by the Juvenile Court, it is little wonder that some held little respect for it.

Turning to the dispositions for the Minor Offences, it seems appropriate that Restitution, Damages and Fine, and Warning were used most.





#### IV. RESULTS OF TREATMENT.

The results of the treatment, or dispositions, utilized by the Edmonton Juvenile Court in 1944 will be considered on the basis of success versus failure with the delinquents so treated. Dispositions will be considered as already outlined.

##### (1) Warned

This disposition appeared to be most successful with the First Offenders. Two-thirds of a total of 39 did not re-appear in court, whereas less than one-third of the Recidivists, 3 out of 11, were successful. 58% of the 50 offenders Warned were successful. Considering ages, it will be noted that 50 to 75% in the 9 to 12 age group were Warned while 10 to 38% of the other age groups were so treated. Although it is difficult to estimate with any degree of accuracy, it would appear that Warning is most suitable for the youngest offenders since the 9 and 10 year olds were two of the groups showing the highest success rate and the highest percentage of those Warned. It is believed that Warning alone is not sufficient for the older offenders since they are quick to realize the emptiness behind any threat made by the Juvenile Court.

King's<sup>1</sup> studies indicate that 7% of the offenders in his group fall into the combined category of Warned, Discharged, and Fined. Less than one-quarter were successful. The Edmonton figures for 1944 indicate that 36% of the Major Offenders were successfully treated in this same combined category.

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1. King, H.L., op. cit., 1934.



(2) Restitution, Damages and Fine.

Although modern theory regarding treatment of Juvenile Offenders tends to discard the use of Restitution, Damages or Fine, on the basis that such treatment methods are punitively, rather than correctionally, oriented, the high degree of success resulting from the use of that disposition suggests that at times it may be used to advantage, particularly with First Offenders. The explanation may well be that since it is the parents who must make good any fine that is levied, in all probability they will pay more attention to their children to prevent any recurrence of damage necessitating reimbursement or restitution. Of the 39 First Offenders so treated, 30 or 76.9% were successful, while 3 out of 10 of the Recidivists did not reappear. Of the 49 considered under this disposition, 33 or 71% were successfully treated. The 13 year old age group appears to be the largest group so treated, the common offences being Theft and Breaking, Entering and Theft. Nevertheless a high rate of success is indicated. Although this disposition is seldom used in the United States, there appears to be merit in this method.

(3) Suspended Sentence.

It is difficult to isolate the difference between actual Suspended Sentence and Warning in the records of the Edmonton Juvenile Court, 1944. Records for both the Dominion and the City indicate that Suspended Sentence as a disposition was more widely used outside of Edmonton. Of the total number of Major Offenders, only four in each group received Suspended Sentence. The success rate is the same, 1 out of 4, for both



First Offenders and Recidivists. It is believed that Suspended Sentence in Edmonton corresponded to Dismissed in the United States. It appears that such a disposition serves no purpose in the Juvenile Court setting, and more would be gained by using the more casual dispositions such as Warning, or Restitution, Damages and Fine. It is unfortunate that success figures for the Dominion are not available since 24% of the offenders according to the 1944 statistics, were given a Suspended Sentence. It appears desirable to follow the United States practice of combining Warning, Dismissed, and Suspended Sentence under the one broad heading - Dismissed.

(4) Placement or Probation.

This disposition was much more widely used in the rest of Canada (26%) and the United States (34%) than in Edmonton (8.7%). Although not extensively used in Edmonton, 8 of the 15 offenders in this group <sup>were</sup> treated successfully, giving a 4.6% success rate. A breakdown of the figures for these offenders shows that of the 5 who were First Offenders, 2 were successful; 10 were Recidivists, 6 of whom were successfully treated. There was nothing in the records to indicate why these offenders were selected for this particular disposition, nor why the Recidivists responded more favorably than the First Offenders. King's<sup>1</sup> studies, on the other hand, point out that of the 400 offenders considered, 73% were so treated, 65% of them successfully, giving an over-all success rate of 47% or 188 of the total group. The high incidence of offenders so treated suggests that

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1. King, H.L., op. cit., 1934.





probation rather than placement was used extensively and at that time the scare administered by being under surveillance was effective. Comparative figures, based on many research projects carried out in the United States, range from 15% to 85%, depending on the group selected. As might be expected, success appears to be directly proportional to the specialized techniques employed in determining which offenders will profit most from such treatment, as well as the facilities available. It is agreed upon by all specialists in the field that the use of placement and probation, particularly effective if treatment is commenced early, requires skilled staff and a great deal of time. Ordinary supervised foster home care is not sufficient. It is necessary that the workers have an extensive knowledge of delinquents and their situations in order to suggest treatment that is specific for the individual. Here, particularly, the emotional needs of the delinquent must receive consideration, especially since a casual placement which overlooks the child's requirements, readily can precipitate further maladjustment. Very possibly the scarcity of such treatment in Edmonton in 1944 was due to the lack of staff at that time.

While on the subject of Placement and Probation, it seems pertinent to re-state the fact that in Edmonton, 1944 Juvenile Court officials had no access to juvenile receiving homes or shelters, reformatories and industrial or training schools, contrary to the terms of the Child Welfare Act. The comparison of the dispositions used in the rest of Canada and the United States in 1944 indicates that approximately 8% of the offenders were sentenced to Industrial Schools. Despite the small figure, which





indicates the rather restricted use of institutions, and the belief that in all probability the standard of these schools differed widely, nevertheless some type of institution was available.

(5) Strapping.

No mention of Corporal Punishment is made in the statistics given for the rest of Canada and the United States. There is nothing to indicate why 5 First Offenders, ranging in age from 10 to 16 years, were strapped, or why 3 were in no further difficulty. Once again, a complete social history might have suggested the reason. In these cases, perhaps there was a lack of discipline in the home. It may be, also, that in attempting to consider the individual, workers have been over-zealous in banishing the punitive role in some instances.

(6) Sine Die.

The Edmonton Juvenile Court used this disposition more often than the Courts in the rest of the Dominion. Accurate figures for the United States are not indicated for this disposition since it was not segregated but included under the broad heading of Warned. In Edmonton, 10 of the 20 offenders, all ages except 11, treated thusly were successful. As might be expected, the inherent threat of this treatment method was more appropriate for First Offenders and was successful in 10 out of 16 cases while all 4 Recidivists re-appeared in Court. It would appear that Recidivists should not be dismissed or treated lightly and that Sine Die as a disposition was of little help to them. Since the records indicate that almost no follow-up work was done after the offender was seen in court, it is not surprising that repeating offenders attached little importance to such treatment.



(7) Wardship Action.

A comparison of the figures in Table VIII indicates the absence of Wardship as such in the rest of the Dominion and the United States. This absence is not surprising. Since Placement and institutional action attempt to accomplish almost the same aim, i.e., to substitute strong consistent controls for weak or ineffectual supervision. In the Edmonton group, 4 out of 7, or 57%, all First Offenders, who were declared Wards of the Government, had no further delinquent record. Monotonous as repetition becomes, nevertheless, it appears essential to state again that due to the lack of information available, there is nothing to indicate why these 7 lads, ranging in age from 9 to 14 years, all First Offenders, were singled out for such treatment which was most drastic available at that time.

(8) Waived.

Once more, the Edmonton figures are alone in indicating use of this disposition. Perhaps the rest of Canada and the United States were in the favored position of being able to utilize other resources and had no need to enlist the aid of the adult court in attempting to rehabilitate offenders. Although the success rate, 3 out of 6, is favorable, particularly for Recidivists, the fact that they were 15 and 16 year olds indicates failure on the part of juvenile authorities.

(9) Adjourned.

Another disposition peculiar to Edmonton in 1944, Adjourned, which indicated nothing more or less than negligence and lack of follow-up on



the part of the juvenile authorities, is not to be compared with the United States disposition "Held Open Without Further Action", but instead might be considered as appointments which were not kept by the offenders or the court. Despite the laxity evinced, it seems ironical that this disposition can boast a very high rate of success for the 6 First Offenders and 5 Recidivists in that 9 out of a total of 11 did not reappear in court. It is believed that in some cases the boys left the city, hence there was no further record of them.

#### V. AGE AND SUCCESS DISTRIBUTION.

The highest rate of success occurred in the younger age brackets. As stated previously, because of the large number of offenders for whom no age is given, it was impossible to correlate age and type of treatment or age and success of treatment. Nevertheless it appears that no disposition was used primarily with any particular age group. Such lack of selectivity in itself displays the inadequate methods employed by the Edmonton Juvenile Court in 1944. Regardless of the educational standard of the individual or group, it is a recognized precept that different procedures are employed with different age groups, be it for purposes of training, disciplining, entertaining or reasoning.

#### VI. SUCCESS DISTRIBUTION OF OFFENDERS.

##### (a) Major Offences.

Of the 171 Major Offenders who appeared in Edmonton Juvenile Court in 1944, 121, 71%, were First Offenders, while 50, 29%, were Recidivists. 81, 67%, of the First Offenders, and 20, 40%, of the Recidivists, were





treated successfully so that 101, 59%, of the total Major Offenders did not reappear in court.

(b) Minor Offences.

Of the 33 offenders in this group, 30, 91%, were First Offenders, and 3, 9%, were Recidivists. 7 of the First Offenders and none of the Recidivists reappeared in court, that is, of the total Minor Offenders, 26, 79%, were successful.

(c) The Total Picture.

Of the 204 offenders, 151, 74%, were First Offenders, and 53, 26%, were Recidivists in 1944. 104, 69%, of the First Offenders, 23, 43%, of the Recidivists did not reappear in court. Of the total offenders, 127, 62%, had no further contact with the courts after 1944.

Since there are few corresponding statistics with which to compare these figures, it is difficult to estimate whether the percentage of First Offenders who became Recidivists is representative of the distribution elsewhere. The over-all success rate of 62% is higher than the rate of 45% successful quoted by King. Statistics issued by the Ohio Department of Welfare for the years 1943 - 1947 inclusive, indicate that of the 101,043 children who appeared before the courts, 57.3% appeared for the first time, while Dominion statistics for the years 1935 - 1944 inclusive, show that from 69 to 80% of the Juvenile Offenders appeared in court for the first time. Since 74% of the offenders appearing in Edmonton Juvenile Court in 1944 were First Offenders, the figures of the present study compare favorably with the foregoing statistics.



## CONCLUSIONS

Results of this study indicate that Theft and Breaking and Entering and Theft were the most common offences committed. The 13 to 17 year age groups were the chief offenders. The Edmonton figures for the types of offences and ages of delinquents agree with the statistics for the rest of Canada, except for the almost complete absence of female offenders. Since most of the offences committed by teen-age girls are concerned with immorality, running away, being ungovernable, etcetera, it is believed that most of these cases must have received unofficial handling in Edmonton.

The treatment of offenders appears to have been very limited because of the lack of facilities. Warning and Restitution, Damages and Fine were the dispositions most frequently used. There appears to have been very little difference in the treatment of offenders on the basis of:

- (1) type of offence
- (2) age of offender
- (3) the delinquent experience of the offender.

Although the success rate determined in this study compares favorably with other available statistics, little credence is placed in the authenticity of the information, particularly regarding the actual incidence of juvenile delinquency, obtained in the present study because of the haphazard way in which the juvenile records were kept or ignored in Edmonton in 1944. The Table in the Appendix indicates how little



information was available for the majority of the delinquents. Further, it is believed firmly that the same nonchalance was used in determining whether or not offenders should be brought before the court for judicial disposition or were unofficially warned by the police or probation officers who kept no record of such contacts. It is not meant to minimize the importance of the dispositions and rather, it is desired to emphasize the reason for discounting the accuracy of the statistics used in this study to indicate both incidence and treatment of juvenile delinquents in Edmonton in 1944.

Regardless of current trends in the treatment of juvenile offenders as outlined earlier in this study, treatment administered by Juvenile Court in Edmonton obviously did not depend upon knowledge of the individual or his particular needs. Once again, the table reveals that in many cases the judges were acting in almost total ignorance of the child and his environment. It is conceivable that part of the indifference may have been due to the lack of treatment facilities to help rehabilitate the offenders. Earlier in the study, two chapters were devoted to outlining fairly comprehensively the methods of treatment preferred in 1944 by the many authorities in the field of juvenile delinquency. A comparison of the types of institutions in use indicated that the English Borstal System and the California Youth Correction Authority were the two most favored because of the importance attached to the youth as an individual and the necessity of selecting carefully the rehabilitation plan to be followed



in each case.

This study concurs with the other studies of the Edmonton and Alberta Juvenile Delinquency picture<sup>1</sup> in recommending that

(1) some type of reformatory or training school, patterned on the Borstal or California Youth Correction Systems, is essential

(2) sufficient trained staff must be employed.<sup>2</sup>

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1. I.O.D.E. Study, op. cit.

King, H.L., op. cit.

Thomas, T.E., op. cit.

Report of the Alberta Royal Commission, op. cit.

2. The Edmonton Juvenile Court as it appears in 1955 is indicated in the Appendix.





A P P E N D I X



SAMPLE DATA SHEET

Date.....

Name.....Date of Birth.....Religion.....

Address.....School and Grade.....

Last Address Given.....

PARENTS

HOME ENVIRONMENT

SIBLINGS (WITH RECORD OF OFFENCES, IF ANY)

PERSONAL CHARACTERISTICS

GANG HISTORY

HEALTH: PHYSICAL

MENTAL

OCCUPATIONAL HISTORY

CONTACT WITH OTHER AGENCIES

1944

PRIOR TO 1944

SINCE 1944

DATE

TYPE OF OFFENCE

CASE DISPOSITION

JUDGE

TOTAL:

MAJOR

MINOR

SOURCES OF INFORMATION

ADEQUATE.....

FURTHER REMARKS.



TABLE SHOWING THE SUMMARIZED INFORMATION  
FROM THE DATA SHEETS

A. Information from City Welfare files	SINGLE OFF. (103)		REC'D SINCE 1944 (48)		REC'D IN 1944 (53)		TOTAL (204)	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Age only	22	21	10	21	2	4	34	17
Date of Birth	53	51	34	71	49	92	136	67
Religion	48	47	34	50	40	75	112	55
Address	97	94	43	90	51	96	191	94
Last Address Given	2	2	7	15	16	30	25	12
School	38	37	19	40	23	43	80	39
Grade <sup>1</sup>	53	51	24	50	37	70	114	56
Parents -- Names	61	59	33	70	46	87	140	69
- other information <sup>2</sup>	47	46	22	46	28	53	97	48
Home Environment	33	32	28	58	36	68	97	48
Siblings	54	52	31	65	46	87	131	64
- with offences	3	3	9	19	10	19	22	11
Personal Characteristics	5	5	2	4	3	6	10	5
Gang History	39	38	29	60	38	72	106	52
Health-Physical	1	1	-	-	3	6	4	2
-Mental	2	2	5	10	11	21	18	9
Occupational History	17	17	11	23	22	42	48	24
Further Information <sup>3</sup>	27	26	16	33	44	83	77	43
Government Wards:								
- Temporary	1	1	3	6	1	2	5	2
- Permanent	1	1	9	19	15	28	25	12
Not Edmontonians	6	6	4	8	5	9	15	7





TABLE SHOWING THE SUMMARIZED INFORMATION  
FROM THE DATA SHEETS (cont'd)

B. Contact with:	S.O.		R.S.		RECID		TOTAL	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
(a) S.S.Exchange	18	17	20	42	15	28	50	25
(b) R.C.M.P.	4	4	17	35	30	57	51	25
(c) City Police and Police Court	7	7	34	71	31	58	72	35

Sentences to Penal Institutions:

(a) at least 3 months	6	13	15	28	21	10
(b) at least 2 years	5	10	9	17	14	7

1. If not attending, last grade completed
2. Including information regarding marital status, occupation and citizenship.
3. Primarily remarks of parents, teachers, Probation officers, etc., regarding attitude towards discipline and home management.  
Occasional information regarding unofficial handling of delinquent.



CLASSIFICATION OF OFFENCES FOR JUVENILE OFFENDERS  
(as listed by Alberta Department of Public Welfare)

MAJOR OFFENCES AGAINST

The Person:

Assault  
Indecent Assault  
Carnal Knowledge  
Incest  
Endangering life on railway  
Pointing gun or pistol

Morality in General:

Fraud  
Forgery  
Immorality  
False Pretences  
Obstruct or resist police  
Contempt of Court  
Escaped Custody  
Obscenity  
Perjury

Property with Violence:

Damage to Property  
Break and Entry  
Arson

Property without Violence:

Theft and attempted theft  
Receive or sell stolen goods  
In possession of stolen goods  
Take car without owner's consent

MINOR VIOLATIONS OF

Morality in General:

Mischief  
Creating disturbance  
Incorrigible  
Indecent conduct  
Cruelty  
Disorderly conduct

Federal Laws:

Railway Act and trespassing  
In possession of firearms  
Lord's Day Act

Provincial Laws:

Liquor Act  
Traffic Act  
Billiard Room Act  
School Act, Truancy

Municipal By-Laws:

Bicycle  
Coasting on street  
Shooting within limits.



## THE EDMONTON JUVENILE COURT IN 1955.

The Edmonton Juvenile Court in 1955 is combined with the Family Court and maintains permanent offices in the Court House building. In addition to a full-time judge who has a background of many years of legal practice, there are three probation officers and two family counsellors. There is close liaison with the Youth Guidance section of the Edmonton City Police. Court is held daily.

### JURISDICTION

Jurisdiction of the Edmonton Juvenile Court extends not only over juvenile delinquents under the age of 18 years for girls, and 16 years for boys,<sup>1</sup> but also over neglected and dependent children of unmarried parents. Delinquent children are looked after by the probation officers attached to the Juvenile Court. The responsibility for the children who are not delinquent is vested in the City Welfare Department and is shared by the Children's Aid and Assistance sections.

### TREATMENT

In addition to the treatment procedures outlined previously, Alberta now has, at Bowden, an institution which can accommodate 210 male youthful offenders, ages 16 to 25, and a juvenile section which can accommodate 80 juvenile delinquents ranging in age from 12 to 15 years.

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1. The lower age limit for boys was adopted on January 1, 1952.



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